



D. Austin-Broos

Race/class : Jamaica's discourse of heritable identity

Argues that Jamaican notions of 'race' and 'class' can be rendered as a discourse of heritable biological and environmental identity. There has been a movement in the meaning of colour categories from an emphasis on biology, to a greater emphasis on environment. This transition has been encouraged by the emergence of class as a 20th-c. idiom.

In: New West Indian Guide/ Nieuwe West-Indische Gids 68 (1994), no: 3/4, Leiden, 213-233

This PDF-file was downloaded from <http://www.kitlv-journals.nl>

DIANE J. AUSTIN-BROOS

RACE/CLASS: JAMAICA'S DISCOURSE OF HERITABLE IDENTITY

INTRODUCTION

Jamaican society in the slavery period brought two cultures into confrontation: a variety of West African groups and a smaller range of Anglo-Europeans and Sephardic Jews. The differences between these groups were rendered by the dominant Europeans in terms of "race" as evidenced in color and other attributes imagined and construed to ideological ends. More recently, possibly in the twentieth century only, an idiom of "class," or "color/class," has been adopted widely by Jamaicans to describe various social fissures and conflicts. Just as "race" has been used to render ethnicity, including its divisions and conflicts, so "class" has been used to describe in the present, and retrospectively, the dynamics of privilege and disprivilege generated by a changing economy and different modes of productive enterprise. Both the idioms of "race" and "class" are culturally interpreted in Jamaica. They are both given particular content by Jamaica's own historicity (cf. Trouillot 1992; also see Robotham 1991). Both pertain to an experience of hierarchy, and to the contestation of hierarchy, in the course of Jamaican history (cf. R.T. Smith 1982). The relation between these idioms, however, has remained an intractable analytical problem, notwithstanding the fact that almost every social scientist writing on contemporary Jamaica has contributed something to the issue.¹ I make this remark in order to dispel any hasty expectation that the current discussion can resolve the matter. However, as an early student of the cultural aspects of social class in contemporary Jamaica, I feel it is time to make some remarks more explicit than those in my previous work, on the manner in which I understand the relation

between "class" and "race" especially as it is represented in Jamaican discourse.

Social class and color groupings jointly present the major issues of status that constitute a Jamaican sense of hierarchy. These groupings intersect and overlap. Derek Gordon (1991:181-206), in his work on education, shows this clearly for contemporary Jamaica when he plots the differences in educational outcome for lighter and darker members of Jamaica's middle and lower classes. Though lower-class black children are improving their position in relation to class members of lighter color, lighter colored children of the middle class have used educational reforms to further secure their advantage over black children in the middle class. Gordon remarks that in these circumstances, consideration of class alone masks other important dynamics, though the dynamic of color is not a unidirectional one.

Turning now to issues of discourse, to the manner in which Jamaicans themselves represent and talk about this milieu, we can only expect a fairly complex picture which sustains some continuity throughout the society, but also varies significantly when viewed from different types of social position. How Jamaicans in different positions figure the issues of "race" and "class," and whether and in what degree they are distinguished, could hardly illicit a simple model of one univocal discourse. Yet among a number of writers on Jamaica, there has been a common view, if not a model, of how Jamaicans experience and give meaning to these dimensions of social life.

M.G. Smith (1984:140), like Harmannus Hoetink (1973:55), has understood "race" in the sense of the spurious biological distinction made between different ethnicities. This distinction and preference, once codified in law, is seen to play the role of charter for *de facto* discriminations in the present. These *de facto* acts, Smith suggests, are sustained at the level of conscious choice. Jack Alexander (1977), on the other hand, understands "race" in terms of an underlying structure of color categories that govern, in an unconscious way, peoples' perceptions, construals, and responses to others. Alexander demonstrates his view with an analysis of a middle-class woman's reflections on the subtleties of phenotypical difference that occur within her own kin domain. Race becomes the idiom through which this everyday sociality is ordered. These positions, which assume different notions of culture, share the common characteristic that race-glossed-as-color is seen to define the major contours of Jamaican culture. The more recent writings of R.T. Smith (1982, 1987) and Lisa Douglass (1992) can also be seen as part of this genre. Both Smith and Douglass, in rather different ways, juxtapose "hierarchy" to "inequality" in order to represent Jamaica's form of systemic, envalued, differential power. R.T. Smith poses the problem of the way in which a "socio-racial stratification" encompasses or is

encompassed by class and "the values of individuation." He concludes that the socio-racial does encompass the values of individuation so that the latter "liberal ideology" in fact "embod[ies] racial concepts in its very structure" (R.T. Smith 1982:98, 119). To these particular racial concepts Smith (1982:116) gives the status of those that "define the nature and components of the world." Here he grafts a Dumontian view of the New World construction of natural difference onto the type of opposition Tocqueville proposed between hierarchy and American egalitarianism (Dumont 1970:239-58). Jamaica's racialized ethnic order becomes a hierarchy of natural difference rendered in "modern" biologized terms. This order in fact absolutely rejects the notion of "equality of condition" that Tocqueville proposed as characteristic of New World forms of society.

In a similar mode, Lisa Douglass (1992:9-10) juxtaposes a naturalized hierarchy of race to beliefs in "meritocracy" and "egalitarianism." Hierarchy is introduced as "color hierarchy" manifest in a group of elite white families. Their practices are taken as evidence for "ideas" that give a "sacred" quality to the practice of hierarchy (Douglass 1992:24). The grounding of this hierarchy in the "21 families," a well-known white sector of the elite, makes them the locus for analytical integration of issues of class and gender with color. In so doing, Douglass implies in a manner similar to Smith, that the "socio-racial order" encompasses class and gender. It is the structural order, the "system's integration," to use R.T. Smith's words (1992:xii), that underlies the entire society. The naturalized hierarchy of color difference encompasses the social order.

What binds all these positions together, notwithstanding their theoretical divergences, is an emphasis on the enduring pre-eminence of "race" as the meaning that specifies Jamaican experience. Racialized notions of ethnicity as rendered in the color categories become the central content of Jamaican culture. With this emphasis, the view seems to capture a major component of Caribbean history. It repudiates the frequent attempts to reduce the rendering of Caribbean history simply to a uniform political economy and to a universal class experience. The Caribbean becomes a unique culture area, albeit at some analytical cost.

COLOR, CLASS, AND THE QUESTION OF INHERITANCE

These forms of analysis situate race as the *sine qua non* of Jamaican experience. As a consequence, it is the reproduction of racialized meaning that is constantly emphasized in analysis.² The diffuse articulations subsumed under class or even gender, become incidental to the reproduction of a nat-

uralized hierarchy identified always with the issue of race. Analyses which begin with a critical thrust, to emphasize Jamaica's specificity, and its non-assimilability to simply another Western class experience, gradually become increasingly conservative, in two particular ways. First, race is represented, by default, as a Proustian phenomenon that remains the same more than it changes. The object of these analyses might be taken to be always to return to the reproduction of color categories as a way of proving that Jamaica has a culture in the sense of an enduring set of meanings. Second, those writings that render the color categories as a form of Jamaican hierarchy suggest that they have a uniform salience right throughout Jamaican society (R.T. Smith 1982, 1987; Douglass 1992). When M.G. Smith (1965) first criticized the value-integration point of view and proposed a plurality of cultures for Jamaica, notwithstanding their differential power, one assumes that part of his rationale was to question this assumption of a uniform salience. As a result, his enduring racial charter applied to only one cultural section, the whites. This critical response from M.G. Smith simplified forms of hegemony that have been characteristic of Jamaican society (Austin 1983, 1984). Yet, when race is seen as meaningful and encompassing structure, this hegemony is also misrepresented. Everyone has a sense of hierarchy and everyone is under the sway of color categories, accepting the hierarchy to a similar degree, or so the analyses seem to suggest. Yet, if this were so one should wonder how the educational reforms of which Gordon writes could even have effected the change that they have in the life chances of the black lower class. A notion of encompassing hierarchy may give cultural identity to Jamaica, but also locks it away from the real political and cultural innovation that has occurred in the course of this century. The struggle and conflict of the society are seen mainly in the context of reproduction, and sentiment and even sacrality are emphasized over the experience of conflict, and the political struggle to resolve that conflict.

It is through this political and cultural innovation that racialism, as a set of practices, has been attenuated in Jamaica. Color categories as an idiom of difference have endured nevertheless. Yet, the use of these categories comes in various forms and with various degrees of salience. As the more obvious race discriminations have diminished in occupational spheres, concern about the minutiae of color increasingly has been domesticated among the privileged, and possibly now remains most marked in the kin domains of the upper middle class. At the same time, the term "class" itself is used as a means of making social distinctions. It is sometimes conjoined with a color category and sometimes used independently. It is common for people in the lower middle class, mobile through education from the lower class, to observe that class is now more important than color. Lower class men, on

the other hand, often talk about "the black working class" and interchange notions of race and class. Talk about class has probably increased, but contrary to R.T. Smith and Douglass, this is not simply talk about individual achievement, a discourse which, in my experience, is confined to a section of the middle class. Class as experienced and talked in Jamaica carries its own forms of heritable identity that at various points and in various ways give content to the color categories. This is so because although overt acts of race discrimination are now less common in Jamaica, economic and cultural constraints on the poor and black sustain ideas of heritable identity that bring together issues of color and class. There is therefore a real attenuation of racialism, but with this does not necessarily go a relinquishing of color categories, or a switch to an idiom of individual achievement. Notions of heritable identity remain and they are often marked by a reference to color sometimes explicitly conjoined with class. They can also be stated, and often are, in social class terms alone.

These comments introduce my third concern with the "culture of race" position. In this position, class is either denuded of meaning or else becomes historically non-specific notwithstanding the obvious fact that "class" is a category among the people. Sometimes it is denied social salience (M.G. Smith 1984), or else is construed as a certain form of contemporary "false consciousness" that, making reference to "education," thereby assumes a meritocratic order in a society that is clearly based on a hierarchy of naturalized difference (Douglass 1992). Sometimes it is proposed that Jamaicans can clearly distinguish race and class so that it is unproblematical to discuss race and color categories independently of social class (Alexander 1977). Another position is simply to observe that changes in class relations bear on the way in which race is understood, though race nevertheless always remains assimilable to its previous forms (R.T. Smith 1982). Rather seldom is the possibility entertained that due to Jamaica's historical specificity, Jamaicans have also construed the experience of "class" in particular ways; ways that make the representations of difference presumed to be embodied in diverse productive roles something specifiably Jamaican, related to but not identical with color classifications. Such a meaningful content of class I found in the language of "inside" and "outside" which proposed ideas of manners and education, associated with certain productive roles, to be inherited characteristics. These antinomies pertained to three areas of life: work life, domestic life, and procreation. Each of these domains, paradigmatically, was organized in an educated "inside," or an "outside" way that connoted lack of education. The manner in which these domains were organized defined a certain sort of being, and notwithstanding a discourse of individual achievement, sustained by middle-class people I knew, these

kinds of being were chiefly conceived as deriving from a heritable identity. In fact, the striking thing about Jamaican ideas of education was the degree to which they incorporated notions of heritable identity quite removed from issues of individual achievement (Austin 1974, 1979, 1983, 1984; cf. Douglass 1992:16, 261). In short, this experience of being enclashed was also rendered as an experience of being placed within or beyond particular domains of *inherited sociality that ultimately defined different kinds of being*. This circumstance was summarized for me by a middle-class woman who observed one day, "It took me five generations to be 'educated.' Yu caan' tek a chil' from below Torrington Bridge, put 'im in a school and mek 'im 'educated.' Caan be done."³

A more extreme expression of a similar view was to observe that the post-War reforms in education have simply produced "learned criminals" (Austin 1984:170). More interesting still, I recorded these observations, and others like them, at a twenty-year interval, one set in 1972 and another set in 1992. They proposed an environmentally induced inheritance that made human beings inexorably different even when it might be assumed that ultimately they came from the very same "race" and manifest the same color shade. For the term "black working class," in particular, these observations have a special force. They suggest that in Jamaica there are active ideas about heritable identity that can give significance to class and ethnicity without being simply biological (cf. Robotham 1991; Douglas 1992:269). "Inheritance" is here the operative word that subsumes both notions of racial difference grounded in biological being, and also notions of cultural difference produced by environing historical experience. This experience can be associated with "negroes," "blacks," or "Jamaica whites." It can also be associated with social class and divorced from particular ethnicities. Black families can sustain an inside status and be part of the educated class. Lighter skinned families of the lower class can equally manifest an outside status and be identified as uneducated.

It seems to me that R.T. Smith has made a major contribution to Jamaican ethnography through his account of the manner in which Jamaican culture has at its core a sense of persisting hierarchical order. This is a sense of hierarchy that acknowledges ranked, inherited forms of difference. These rankings are still articulated often through the idiom of color shade and can reflect biologized notions of race. Yet, Jamaican culture in this sense is more than simply a discourse of race. It also involves issues of class which give meaning to the experience of hierarchy. The articulation of social class can bring other ideas of inheritance either distinguished from color difference or else associated with that difference. These alternative modes of representation vary with position in society.

Moreover, to say that a sense of hierarchy is close to the core of Jamaican culture does not entail, so far as I can see, that all Jamaicans simply accept a set of ranked color categories as their major means of interpreting the world or even as a significant means. This hierarchy is given different meanings. It is endorsed and left implicit in perception, or else made explicit and contested in a variety of ways. All these positions, nevertheless, can refer to issues of heritable identity and to Jamaica's historicity. It is this phenomenon of inherited identity with references back to plantation society and to the problematic of hierarchy that for me most typifies Jamaican culture. In this, race does not encompass class, or class give meaning to color categories only. Rather, they are both historically emergent dimensions of a discourse of heritable identity that is characteristic of Jamaica.

Particularly in the course of this century, class, with its own forms of cultural content, has become a salient category of experience, joining with and sometimes superseding the experience of racialized relations. This process has itself reflected not only economic change in Jamaica, but also a continuing political struggle to expunge color as a ground for distinction. Whilst neither color nor social class have been overcome as bases of hierarchy, this process of political and cultural struggle has confirmed and expanded a discourse in which biologized hierarchy is strongly contested. Distinctions of social class, however, that evoke other views of inheritance, and can be aligned with ethnicity, have often replaced these racist notions. These distinctions are also contested, and defended, and help to shape a complex discourse of heritable identity. In this discourse, as the experience of the lower classes has become, increasingly, a transnational experience, their views have also become more vocal and more confrontational. This is often expressed in cultural genres through "dub" music and poetry, and through the urban folklore of gangs. It reflects itself in the middle class through some classic novels of race and class and through a plethora of ironic comedies flowing from the pens of various authors.⁴

JAMAICA'S DISCOURSE OF HERITABLE IDENTITY

In place of the "culture of race" account, I would like to propose a more complex scheme that renders this phenomenon as a form of discourse in which there are a number of positions. I shall call this discourse "Jamaica's discourse of heritable identity." At its heart are positions which bring matters of color and class together in a variety of different engagements. To specify this discourse, however, requires a small digression on "heritable identity."

Notions of heritable identity in Jamaica have rested either on beliefs in biological inheritance, or on beliefs in heritable difference constituted and reproduced through the sustaining of distinct environments (Austin-Broos 1992). The distinguishing feature in these two different notions is that whilst the biological view, which is far less common in Jamaica today, proposes that difference is intrinsic to races, the environmental view in fact proposes that difference is constituted over time. This difference can be seen as situational, and therefore as changeable in principle. Many Jamaicans from a variety of classes in fact entertain this view of the world. From a conservative position, however, this difference can also be construed as something which becomes intrinsic to the person as an enduring phenomenon. Whilst the former biologized view is a relatively straightforward version of racialism, the latter conservative view of environment combines ideas about color and class with a certain adaptive notion of inheritance. People evolve as different beings due to the circumstances of their environment. The comments on education cited above offer this view of social class. Commonly, however, this environmental view conjoins ideas of class with notions of color or ethnicity. A brown middle-class woman once observed,

The negroes sometimes do not like themselves. They put it forward that they are glad to be negroes, but basically, I don't think they are. The negroes and so were brought in as slaves and, of course, they had no voice. The masters tell them what to do and they just do it. And in time, when they even got a certain amount of freedom, that's the only way they knew, and so [they] brought it forward unto their children, to a point, not in the form of slaves, but it work out the very same thing today.

This statement by a brown Jamaican woman treats "negroes" as a separate kind of being certainly different from herself. This is due to their environing inheritance, and notwithstanding the obvious fact that she is part "negro" herself. The use of the phrase, "unto their children" also evokes a biblical tone in which the inheritance of a "negro identity" becomes, like sin, an enduring condition. And from this position, blackness like sin is seen as a set of inherited dispositions as much environmental as it is intrinsic. These views are in fact significantly different from typically biologized statements of difference common during the colonial period. George W. Bridges (1828, II:479), the Anglican cleric, portrayed "the African" as exhibiting "generic deceit, ingratitude and cruelty." Some seventy years later at the turn of the century, even Frank Cundall (1900:404), a born and bred Jamaican, observed that an "Englishman" in Jamaica, with special care, could only do "a fair amount of almost manual labour" due to the nature of his physique. The statements of hierarchy current in Jamaica are seldom of this simple biologized type, but rather refer to intractable difference forged through environmental inheritance.

I specifically wish to identify Jamaica's discourse of heritable identity with these ideas of environmental inheritance. They conform with the observation made by Alexander (1977) that Jamaicans by and large do not see races as inherently hierarchical, but only as constituting hierarchy through history. It is important to note here, and pace Alexander and also Douglass, that an important component of this history involves the articulation of class relations on which Jamaicans comment themselves (cf. R.T. Smith 1982). One position in this discourse endorses hierarchy in the present and suggests that the civilizing power of colonialism has not entirely reached the black lower classes. They are intractably different due to inherited environment. Another position in the discourse contests this construal of inheritance. The imagery of the "black oppressed" or, more commonly, the "black working class," proposes that disadvantage, not disability, is the inheritance of the poor and black. Typically, lower class black Jamaicans, when they articulate this position, as do many in the middle class, seek to propose that equality of condition that Tocqueville described as a New World notion (cf. Jayawardena 1967-68). Sometimes they see their fellow Jamaicans defeated by imposed inheritance, and sometimes they underline the struggle that keeps this sense of equality alive. Both these positions, nevertheless, address historical environment.

Around these two positions in the discourse revolve some others which are equally important. One of these is the type of position that focuses on individual practice and proposes that Jamaica can become an order of individual achievement beyond the contextualizing power of history. Here is part of a conversation with a black middle-class man:

I: I started out saying the white person was regarded as being in the upper strata. It's not as blatantly so now, because many of the colored people are up there now. Today, it's not really so much the color, or the race; it is the class now.

A: And when you say 'class,' do you mean 'money?'

I: Yes, money and position. You know, the status that you reach in life when you have an education. A black, a jet black doctor is a big man.

A: And what gives status in Jamaica now?

I: Well, profession, successful business more or less. That's about it. It doesn't matter what business really if a man can move around looking tidy, and have a motorcar and his children going to big schools, and all that sort of thing.

This is a typical middle-class statement that rejects the issue of inheritance in order to foreground individual achievement. This type of position, which promotes individualism in the face of hierarchy, is, nevertheless, frequently

mixed with ideas about heritable identity as a fact of environment. The latter ideas are deployed to explain either why the middle class continue to achieve, or why the lower class seem to so seldomly. They suggest, through reference to education, that achievement is fostered through time; and that those not engaged in enduring cultivation will inherit an untutored disposition. The individualized position is therefore unstable and tends to fold back before too long into issues of heritable identity.

A further position in the discourse is more often "said" through practice than talk. It involves notions of radically equal community transcending the field of hierarchical order. Typically, these forms of community are proposed as colorless and also as classless. They are very often conceived in religious terms and in terms of radical forms of self-transformation. Unlike the meritocratic position, they see the resolution of hierarchy in forms of community rather than individual practice. Nevertheless, they also acknowledge that these communities are based in individuals' practice. Many Revival and Pentecostal groups, for instance, propose such a radical community that would, in fact, be colorless. Their notions of transcending hierarchy involve both Christian and existential elements. The individual, in a revelatory moment, bursts through the hierarchy to a different plain of being. An alternative to a colorless transcendence is transcendence to a world entirely black. In Rastafarianism, with its separatist element, a radical model of this community is proposed.

Both of these latter positions seek to move beyond the discourse of heritable identity to worlds of differently nuanced equality while the notions of heritable identity, in turn, endorse or contest a hierarchical order. The views of inheritance that re-affirm hierarchy focus on the plantation period and often propose a continuing heritage derived from the colonial milieu. People are as they are today due to the colonial past. The notions of heritable identity that contest this view emphasize a different inheritance. They focus on a "history of freedom" that followed abolition. The creation of family, class, and nation is intimately associated with this history and seen as the creation, over time, of newly secured identities especially for people identified as "black" (cf. Robotham 1991). Both these positions operate from ideas of envioning condition; one which reproduces hierarchy and the other which comprises the practice of freedom to realize an equality of condition. Middle class people who underline individual achievement identify neither with the hierarchical view, nor with the rhetoric of black class and nation. The Jamaicans who posit in their practice radically equal communities are also, often, lower-class people unable to engage with the rhetoric of class, or with the political rhetoric of nation. Unlike a section of the middle class, they are sceptical regarding individual achievement in the absence of

spiritual support. These Jamaicans are sometimes men, but very often lower-class women.

The discursive formation here described could be rendered as a "culture of race." It does not involve phenomena different from those to which other accounts have pointed. This account places these phenomena, however, in a more dynamic perspective. It acknowledges that notions of hierarchical difference can change their meaning, be contested and attenuate, all within a larger cultural milieu that nevertheless remains distinctively Jamaican. Class, as the historically constituted environments that work upon the initial forms of ethnic inheritance that were once construed in bio-racial terms, becomes integral to this larger milieu rather than some shadowy grid beyond it. Different forms of class experience intersect with color shades to produce paradigmatic environments that constitute heritable identities. These notions of environmental inheritance can be naturalized to a degree or remain situational and therefore amenable to change.

In the remainder of this discussion, I will seek to put forward the Jamaican view by discussing some examples of the discourse here described. In a separate, complementary paper entitled "Hierarchy and Jamaican Religion," I explore some of Jamaica's visions of radical transcending community.⁵ Here, I begin with a discursive position that endorses Jamaican hierarchy and then consider two positions that contest it in different degrees and ways.

"THE SLAVERY THING IS STILL IN THEM"

Fearful of rural impoverishment and of Jamaica's massive urbanization, many members of Jamaica's middle class regard with distaste and frustrated regret an aggressive lower-class ghetto style that appears to turn its back on education and even on "civilization." The ghetto dweller is typified as someone outside a respectable society; someone whose position and disposition is a heritable product stretching back to slavery. Here is the view of a middle class woman scanning the hierarchy she knows as Jamaica.

Once the black people, they were more docile. They didn't have all that fire within them. I think what happen now, that even though the people are just as ignorant and just as poor, they now got a spark and because they are ignorant, they don't know in what way to bring themselves forward. So the only way they know is to be hostile. I feel it is because they don't really know better.

Because what you find happening is there are certain areas in Kingston that is definitely of a very bad element. That is, they do nothing but the wrong thing. As children, they will be pick pockets. They will not attend school. They will always be scruffy and dirty. No mind [that] they don't have another shirt, but they will always be dirty and on the

road. The parents will never know where they are. The parents in turn when they do catch up with such a child give him a flogging that, I mean no human being should get, and so tomorrow they back on the road as a sort of retaliation. I mean, [the parents] quarrel with them but they can't do anything more. Because basically, I think, lots of people that are black are sorry they are black. No matter how they tell you that black is beautiful and they are happy to be black and natural and so. I think lots of them deep down are sorry they are black and maybe that is why they respond like this. From slavery they were beaten, you see, and they didn't learn another way.

The middle-class people are more civilized, even though they keep the color shade thing. That prejudice, now, is responding to the white. You know, the Jamaica white. Those people now, are very clannish. They are together all the time. They are always doing things together and everybody else is an outsider. Because you may come along and you may hold, maybe, a government office and they may need you ... Then they'll befriend you. But you will still be an outsider. You will never be able to come into the fold. The matter is not particularly social, but it definitely have to do with marriage. I mean, you're not aware that there is an undercurrent. But let you walk through the gate with their brother or their son, they would reject you immediately.

The shade thing applies to them and to the older middle class. Because, in an earlier day, that color really meant behavior. If you walk in there as somebody not of their color, you would also be not of good behavior. And then, they would really reject you. Now, people say it was a terrible thing; terrible to worry about the shade of skin, and the shape of lips, and type of hair. But, really, to people it meant the behavior. It meant civilization you see. And when you see the blacks today, you will understand what it mean. You see, people wouldn't marry that vulgarity.

This woman is Afro-Chinese, and in her own perception lives at a tangent from the color-shade schemes of the middle class; a tangent even more clearly defined by her marriage to an Indian businessman. Absent in her comment are the types of careful phenotypical distinction that can still be elicited at least from some in the middle class. Her concern with issues of hierarchy, however, is revealed in her connection of behavior with color and with the manner in which a "black" behavior is reproduced across generations.

The experience which shapes this discursive position is based in the juxtaposition of two milieux: a middle class space of educational achievement leading to social mobility and the assumption of particular forms of "behavior"; and a lower-class space of limited opportunity that has promoted rural to urban migration and the gradual growth of sprawling slums in Kingston. Opportunity for the few and constraint for the many has produced in this middle-class position an acceptance of hierarchy only finely overlaid by a sense of individual achievement. The embodiment of this middle-class experience comes in the creation of ordered space that allows the privatization of an "inside" life and the maintenance of status unequals "outside" (see Austin 1984). These conceptions among the middle class create an extraordinary sense of "matter out of place" applicable both to artifacts and people. The same Afro-Chinese woman gave me an example from everyday life.

There is a Rastafarian broom man that passes along here. The gardener had cleaned up for me on a particular day and the following day he was gone and there walked along a man who was selling his brooms. You know, the old brooms made from banana leaf. He stood right in the curb there and started. They have a way of using a knife or an ice pick to shred it out. And in doing that, it shreds off the fibres on the ground. Well, I was out there and I said to him "I'd rather you didn't do it there because I have just swept up. I don't like filth lying on the grass." And he turned to me and said "This is not your sidewalk you know. I'll stay here as long as I want to." And I got mad and the gardener heard, and he came out to the gate, and he said to him, "She right, she just pay me to look after her place which include de sidewalk. She has every right to tell you not to mess it up." And the Rastafarian turned and he insult the gardener which was his own particular type of person, and he cursed him off good and proper. It's ignorance you see. They have always been lacking in education but you are supposed to treat them like gods and perhaps give them everything you have.

The Rastafarian with his wild hair shredding his brooms on the tended lawn is the image that this woman deploys to describe a transgression of hierarchy located in the space of neighborhood life. It is because the Rastafarian and the gardener are the same, black and poor, that the woman can reject the Rastafarian's claims to a mendicant but nevertheless transcendent status. When the Rastafarian curses his own, he demonstrates his uncivilized nature conferred and reproduced over time by a disordered and violent environment. In the woman's view the Rastafarian thereby loses all claim to difference from the domestic servant.

"SPEAKING OF A CULTURAL STANDARD, IT HAS TO DO WITH INHERITANCE"

A woman from the respectable working class has a different view of Jamaica's hierarchy. For her it is a mechanism of disadvantage that can sustain, through the exercise of power, a constraining and demoralizing environment. Her discussion of maintaining a "cultural standard," and the inculcation of "bitterness" in youth, reveals an equally striking sense of class, ethnicity, and the struggle with hierarchy. The woman is a vendor or "higgler" who resides and works in the East Kingston area. For a period during her younger years she had worked as a domestic in New York and Boston. She is very well read and a Pentecostal deacon. She has one daughter who has been socially mobile into the lower reaches of the middle class. Her three sons remain in her neighborhood and two of them are involved in gangs, a milieu of violence that worries her. She emphasizes the problems she encounters in sustaining a "cultural standard" in her sons that will protect them from violence and ultimate destruction.

Speaking of cultural standard, it has to do not primarily with a person's breeding, but it has to do with inheritance ... You are moving toward the betterment of life and the entirety of your human environment. You think of what's better rather than being complacent.

A youth become complacent now, because he can see that glimmer of light towards any other successful way in which to maintain himself as a person. And it's something that seems to be growing more intense. You see, the opportunities aren't really here because we were actually subjected to certain rules and regulations because of our English or British masters, and, you know, which job you could get and your social life restricted. If there was a night club, you would be looking very conspicuous as a black man walking in there with the white. A black woman now, was far away. To be close you were a maid or a whore. Like the Whore of Babylon perhaps. But in those days, somehow it didn't seem to bother us. The people. I mean the black people now, because they had in themselves, in their own communities so much intensity of enjoyment and fulfillment within themselves ... You were more a creature of life among the people and there wasn't, like, the comparison. Today there is definitely like a lot more comparison between the people of different class.

But if you stop to compare, Jamaica is only one country, and you find that there is subversion, rebellion, chaos internationally. I wouldn't want to isolate Jamaica as being why it's happened here, because black people everywhere are not that much privileged and this causes bitterness ...

The financially wealthy, they have moved out and sought dwelling in places where they are no longer mixing with the lower class or the "trying." They've been movin' themselves inside an' we left outside in the yard. You see, they define a group that is in a certain economical or income bracket, and they actually manufacture a society of their own, as opposed to we who cannot be in that position because source of income wouldn't permit. And the black individual compare himself, and this creates a bitterness. Then, in government places and business there is still a great deal of shade prejudice. Judith [her daughter], she say the prejudice still there in the bank. It's there, and I don't know what's going to move it and that is [another] one of the reasons why in the black youth you readily find him boisterous and very barbarous because he knows how you feels and he defies it. And it makes him bitter in his inside part. And this is one of the reasons why even against his own black he gets that way because there is that bitterness in the youth and he will slash it up with anybody. And the nearest thing to him is one of his own. And then he lose that enjoyment of life that help black people step forward in the past. Maybe the gals do better because they more inclined to keep the standard. All o' we feel that bitterness, but the youth more ready to slash it up.

So, change now would take a great deal of time because today, even if he get a "living wage," the youth still feels you owes him more, coming from that bitterness. It comes like an inheritance because he don't have the cultural standard.

The vendor summons the colonial past to explain various conditions of the present, but denies that black people were defeated by the past. She also denies that the Jamaican situation is simply a result of Jamaican conditions. She points, rather, to an international scene in which the articulation of race and class has become more pronounced as an ordering phenomenon even as mobility has increased. The inheritance she addresses is a bitterness in terms of which she explains the violence of the ghetto. In her view, "youth" not sustaining a "cultural standard" and becoming "barbarous" is an issue

of heritable identity, not the product of "breeding" or even an undisciplined environment, but rather of discrimination no longer counterbalanced by a sustaining black community. When that black community is sustained, it is feasible still to inherit a standard, notwithstanding the bitterness. This woman contests Jamaica's hierarchy and refers to its international setting. She endorses a lower-class ethnicity, even as she sees color and class impeding further advancement. She acknowledges the way in which adverse effects of an imposed environment can be internalized in the person. The "bitterness" that she describes would be called by others lack of "civilization."

"FOR THE BLACK RACE AND WHAT HAS BEEN DONE TO THEM"

Another contestational position from within the discourse is the position especially of men who have been migrant workers and also engaged with Jamaican unionism. These men are perforce a minority in Jamaica whose sprawling lower class is only partly proletarianized. Yet, they and their fathers, as they relate, were important in the development of Jamaica's current structure of political life. In Kingston, they joined the early union movement and supported the founding of the political parties. Their experience of collectivity has been pre-eminently through unions and sometimes the local branch of a political party. They do not represent the Jamaican perspective, or even the lower-class perspective, but rather a certain historical perspective of more privileged male workers in the society. Working in a ghetto area that was also a "port workers" neighborhood, some of my major informants were recruited from this group. It was among this group that I found an emphasis on the historicity of a "black working class"; a migratory group of workers from Africa who were first enslaved by their "British masters," and then made itinerant in the Caribbean region. The most striking expression of this heritable identity I collected from a man who also has a penchant for interpreting economy. He had begun his own life as a carpenter and turned to laboring work, and even cane cutting, as life as an artisan became impossible with increasing American mass production (see Austin 1984:185-96). His view of Jamaica's situation is sober.

Things will reach a turning point where [people] need to change their furniture within a year or two. It will have to be done so as to keep the economy turning over because the influx of people that demand work and need work to keep them alive and keep their livelihood going, it's ten times the amount of people from we used to have. So it will have to be a revolving basis. Throw out this this week, take in something next week and throw it out the other week so as to keep the next man employed. If that is not done,

well, this nation will have to be scattered across the globe so that they start back making some sort of foundation that should have been made, for instance, one hundred years ago. When we brought as slaves to Jamaica they never thought about making a nation. Well, maybe now they mus' scatter the nation! [But] it's hard to do that thing today when we all become Jamaican.

He paused and expressed distress at his own idea of a nation freed, but without foundation. Reflecting on the issue of nation, however, he addressed the struggle of the history of freedom.

For the black race, and for the colored people, and what has happened in the past, of what should have happened in the past, of what should have been given in the past – that, they have not got, and they are reacting against it. They are demanding that it be given to them, but they are demanding part of it, and what they are demanding, it is in a horrified manner. They are demanding it with a vengeance you see. And somehow or other we will have to be given these demands. And what I do notice is that a lot of the university students, they recognize now the black man's cry. Some people there really begin to support the workers. [But] the mulatto and even the fair people now, they are one side against the black class. And even when the black politician reach the top, he will go more to that side. So the black race now is demanding you see. They are horrified for the injustice.

This worker identifies his black ethnicity with a particular class experience, and as he contemplates the issue of nation moves from an economic rendering of life to one which becomes both aware of class and aware of a class embodied in a black ethnicity. Color and class are assimilated in the experience of a "black working class." Yet in the course of social mobility, class can prevail over and redefine the sentiment of ethnicity. The black politician who reaches "the top" tends to "go more" to the other "side." This man describes the same "fire within" urbanized lower-class Jamaicans as that to which the Afro-Chinese woman refers. This is not, however, a product of inferior environment producing a condition of "ignorance," but rather an expression of enduring anger not only for the present but the slavery past. This man acknowledges Jamaican hierarchy but with the intention of contesting it. The lyricism of his reflections on nation building reveal a marked sense of historicity; a sense of inherited environment that has framed the struggle for a society based on equality of condition. The influences that shape his rhetoric flow both from Jamaica's union movement and from more recent moments of politically embodied black nationalism. That this position is articulated with passion reflects the enduring assertions of hierarchy that remain a part of Jamaican culture. That this man can articulate this view so freely also reflects the role of various political collectivities in constituting a lower-class experience during the course of the twentieth century.

The world of Jamaica's domestic politics is now overwhelmingly a black and brown world, whilst even within the private enterprise corporate structure a number of black Jamaicans hold key positions. Most importantly, the institutional complex of banking establishments that regulates government and private sector interaction is now largely in the hands of black and brown Jamaicans, and ethnic minorities other than whites (Stone 1980:65, 1985:3, 45; cf. Douglass 1992). Though Douglass's account documents well the coherence and vitality of the white section of Jamaica's elite, the fact remains that their power now is heavily curtailed by the intimate interactions that perforce obtain between public and private sector organizations (Stone 1980:214-8; 1985:42). These developments in themselves have not dispelled hierarchy from Jamaica. They have, however, attenuated it and allowed in the midst of political practice a form of theater which seeks to confirm the humanity of those who remain black and poor (cf. Jayawardena 1967-68). This theater is created when leaders, of whatever color and class, press themselves in the midst of their rallies to engage bodily with their followers. Singular bodies clad in tailored shirts parade down streets and are totally surrounded by a crowd of people in soiled, worn, and sometimes ragged clothes. In these theaters, leaders are often pictured embracing the bodies of the poor and black. And it is just this ready representation of the smell, feel, and touch of socially unmediated physical contact that is apprehended as a move beyond hierarchy. The capacity of a politician to "hug up" the poor is crucial in his public career; and the marked gendering in this activity places women politicians at a disadvantage. The use of cultural space in Jamaica to create distance between people who embody ranked difference – the mistress and her employee, the worker and his overseer – is here rejected in order to create an egalitarian image sustained well beyond the moment. This image is a powerful tool for politicians in structuring the sentiment of their supporters. It is also, however, an image which contests the forms of space in social life that are used to express hierarchical order. These forms of politics in the twentieth century have restructured Jamaican experience in ways that allow Jamaica's discourse on heritable identity to expand, become more consciously complex, and give variations of meaning and salience to the color categories still a part of daily life. All Jamaicans can make color distinctions of the type that Alexander (1977) describes for a middle-class woman. Whether or not all Jamaicans attach a similar, naturalized hierarchial meaning to the use of these color categories is a more debatable issue.

CONCLUSION

In this account, I have proposed that Jamaican notions of "race" and "class" can be rendered as a discourse of heritable identity. This discourse involves both ideas of biological inheritance and ideas of environmental inheritance though, increasingly, issues of environmental inheritance have displaced biologized conceptions. This form of environmental inheritance, however, can itself be naturalized through the view that environmental effect in fact becomes internalized. The ability of notions of environmental inheritance to bring together issues of ethnicity and class is marked by the joint occurrence of idioms of color and of class, often sustained in intimate relation. I have also proposed that a notion of hierarchy, of ranked difference specified through time, stands at the center of this discourse. This notion of hierarchy can be confirmed or contested. It is confirmed by reference to the plantation past and the civilizing power of colonialism. It is contested by acknowledging the reproduction of hierarchy not through internalized inferiority, but rather through the inheritance of disadvantage. The history of freedom since abolition has been the struggle against this disadvantage and for positive notions of ethnicity. Other positions in this discourse repudiate both hierarchy and heritable identity through the advocacy of individual achievement, or through the pursuit of spiritual transcendence as realized in religious community. And there may be further ways in which this sense of hierarchy is either confirmed or contested. These are simply the ones I have observed. It is also important to note, as I have hinted, that these different positions in the discourse may be gendered to a greater or lesser degree. The discourses of a "black working class" is, in my experience, male-oriented whilst forms of religious transcendentalism are strongly influenced by feminine imageries, though they are not exclusively feminine. The manner and degree of this gendering is an issue that requires further research.

I have observed that a color idiom is sustained in Jamaica not least because the vast majority of Jamaicans remain black and poor. Whilst many middle-class people are also black, very few of lighter skin color have been downwardly mobile. Once again, Gordon's valuable comments on education in a society needing trained personnel, gives some insight into this situation. A color idiom is also sustained by the fact that in a transnational world, where a majority of my major informants had all had overseas experience, power resides in the hands of whites. Notwithstanding that Jamaicans often construct transcendent communities beyond Jamaica, it is also true that this transnational world has reinforced the experience of color. This situation, along with economic constraints that make poverty the experience of the black majority, helps to reproduce Jamaica's color idiom even as it is joined by an idiom of class.

Inherited forms of sociality that sustain color categories as taken-for-granted forms of distinction also contribute to Jamaican discourse. To suggest, however, that these race and color meanings entirely encompass Jamaican life and have remained largely impervious to change over a period of three hundred years, is a proposal that I find implausible, and also unnecessary in order to specify Jamaican life. This position cannot explain the changes that have occurred in Jamaica, and tends to simplify, albeit inadvertently, the complex of Jamaican meanings that informs the discourse of everyday life. Not least among this complexity is the fact that color terms are given variable meaning, and their use as a representation of hierarchy is constantly contested through other uses that value "black" and "brown" constructively. These variations are related, in turn, to Jamaican experiences of class and ethnicity, and to the meanings they give to these experiences. Notwithstanding these reservations, Raymond Smith's introduction of a notion of naturalized hierarchy is a major innovation in the interpretation of Jamaican culture. It not only seeks to specify the society along with others of the Caribbean region. In its references to the work of Louis Dumont and Alexis de Tocqueville, it also poses issues about forms of society rather than merely about cognitive categories.

One way of summing up this analysis, is to say that there has been a movement in the meaning of color categories from an emphasis on biology, to a greater emphasis on environment, and that this movement has been encouraged by the emergence of class as an idiom in the course of the twentieth century. The emergence of class as a twentieth-century idiom has also been an embodied emergence in which at least for some in the lower class their experience is known through ethnicity; through the experience of being black. Yet even those who articulate the notion of a "black working class" also can recognize the independence of class as a phenomenon sustaining hierarchy. Blacks who are mobile to "ranking" positions can assume new sentiments and orientations due to changes in their class position. The environmental inheritance they bequeath to their children may secure them as part of the middle class. The lighter skinned child born "below Torrington Bridge" also can be judged by the middle-class teacher as one who inherits "ignorance." Idioms of color and class in Jamaica reflect but also partially hide these variations and shifts in discourse that produce a range of different positions. What brings these various positions together, however, is a sense of inherited identities pertaining to hierarchy in society. Jamaicans struggle with this complex of notions, and thereby quite unintentionally produce a distinctive and compelling culture marked by its sense of history.

NOTES

1. See for instance, M.G. Smith 1965, 1984; Henriques 1976; Alexander 1977; Austin 1979; R.T. Smith 1982, 1987; 1984; Douglas 1992.
2. See especially Hoetink 1973; R.T. Smith 1982, 1987; M.G. Smith 1984; Douglass 1992.
3. Torrington Bridge is simply one of a number of geographical reference points in Kingston used to demarcate over the years that point south of the more prosperous "New Kingston" where the city's "ghetto" area is supposed to begin.
4. The authors I have in mind in particular are Orlando Patterson, Arthur Winkler, and Trevor Rhone.
5. This paper was "aired" at the American Anthropological Association Meetings in Washington DC in November 1993. It is part of a planned trilogy, the third of which is tentatively entitled "Talking Colour: Stratification and Ethnicity in Jamaican Ideas of Colour." The latter paper focuses on the different ways in which a middle-class and a lower-class person might speak about color, reflecting different forms of social experience.

REFERENCES

- ALEXANDER, JACK, 1977. The Culture of Race in Middle-Class Kingston, Jamaica. *American Ethnologist* 4:413-35.
- AUSTIN, DIANE J., 1974. Symbols and Ideologies of Class in Urban Jamaica. PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago.
- , 1979. History and Symbols in Ideology: A Jamaican Example. *Man* (NS) 14:297-314.
- , 1983. Culture and Ideology in the English-Speaking Caribbean : A View from Jamaica. *American Ethnologist* 10:223-40.
- , 1984. *Urban Life in Kingston Jamaica: The Culture and Class Ideology of Two Neighbourhoods*. New York & London: Gordon and Breach.
- AUSTIN-BROOS, DIANE J., 1992. Redefining the Moral Order: Interpretations of Christianity in Post-Emancipation Jamaica. In Frank McGlynn & Seymour Drescher (eds.), *The Meaning of Freedom: Economics, Politics and Culture after Slavery*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, pp. 221-43.
- BRIDGES, GEORGE W., 1828. *The Annals of Jamaica*. Vols. 1 and 2. London: Frank Cass.
- CUNDALL, FRANK, 1900. Jamaica. In *The British Empire Series*. Vol. 3 (British America), pp. 367-425. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.
- DOUGLASS, LISA, 1992. *The Power of Sentiment: Love, Hierarchy and the Jamaican Family Elite*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- DUMONT, LOUIS, 1970. *Homo Hierarchicus: An Essay on the Castle System*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- GORDON, DEREK, 1991. Access to High School Education in Postwar Jamaica. In E. Miller (ed.), *Education and Society in the Commonwealth Caribbean*. Mona: Institute of Social and Economic Research, UWI, pp. 181-206.
- HENRIQUES, FERNANDO, 1976. *Family and Colour in Jamaica*. London: Granada.

HOETINK, H., 1973. *Slavery and Race Relations in the Americas: An Inquiry into their Nature and Nexus*. New York: Harper and Row.

JAYAWARDENA, CHANDRA, 1967-68. Ideology and Conflict in Lower Class Communities. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 10:413-46.

ROBOTHAM, DONALD, 1991. The Development of a Black Ethnicity. In R. Lewis & P. Bryan (eds.), *Garvey: His Work and Impact*. Trenton: Africa World Press, pp. 23-38.

SMITH, MICHAEL G., 1965. *The Plural Society in the British West Indies*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

———, 1984. *Culture, Race and Class in the Commonwealth Caribbean*. Mona: Department of Extra-Mural Studies, UWI.

SMITH, RAYMOND T., 1982. Race and Class in the Post-Emancipation Caribbean. In R. Ross (ed.), *Racism and Colonialism*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, pp. 93-119.

———, 1987. Hierarchy and the Dual Marriage System. In J. Fishburne Collier & S. Junko Yanagisako (eds.), *Gender and Kinship: Essays toward a Unified Analysis*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 163-96.

———, 1992. Foreword. In Lisa Douglass, *The Power of Sentiment: Love, Hierarchy and the Jamaican Family Elite*. Boulder: Westview Press, pp. xi-xv.

STONE, CARL, 1980. *Democracy and Clientelism in Jamaica*. New Brunswick & London: Transaction Books.

———, 1985. *Class, State and Democracy in Jamaica*. Kingston: Blackett.

TROUILLOT, MICHEL-ROLPH, 1992. The Caribbean Region: An Open Frontier in Anthropological Theory. *Annual Reviews in Anthropology* 21:19-42.

DIANE J. AUSTIN-BROOS
Department of Anthropology
University of Sydney
Sydney, New South Wales, 2006 Australia

OBIAGELE LAKE

THE MANY VOICES OF RASTAFARIAN WOMEN: SEXUAL SUBORDINATION IN THE MIDST OF LIBERATION

Jamaican Rastafarians emerged in response to the exploitation and oppression of people of African descent in the New World. Ironically, although Rasta men have consistently demanded freedom from neo-colonialist forces, their relationship to Rastafarian women is characterized by a posture and a rhetoric of dominance. This discussion of Rastafarian male/female relations is significant in so far as it contributes to the larger "biology as destiny" discourse (Rosaldo & Lamphere 1974; Reiter 1975; Etienne & Leacock 1980; Moore 1988). While some scholars claim that male domination in indigenous and diaspora African societies results from European influence (Steady 1981:7-44; Hansen 1992), others (Ortner 1974; Rubin 1975; Brittan 1989) claim that male physical power and the cultural institutions created by men, set the stage for male domination over women in all societies. This article elaborates on the latter theory through an analysis of religious thought and institutions that reflect differential access to material and cultural resources among Jamaican Rastafarians.

The ways in which Rastafarian women are dominated in various societal spheres and how this domination is reified by religious ideology will receive major emphasis. This discussion of Rasta women is juxtaposed against the position of Jamaican (and Caribbean) women as a whole who are obliged to contend with male privilege (Douglass 1992). Men exercise their privileged status as heads of households, religious and ceremonial leaders, and controllers of political and economic institutions (Harrison 1988). These claims are based on my observations of male/female relations and on extensive interviews gathered from a wide range of Rasta informants.¹

This discussion is significant because it includes diaspora-African women

in the nature/nurture debate and also recognizes their struggles as a missing, but important component of the general anthropological literature. While there is a plethora of literature (Robertson 1976; Obbo 1980; Shostak 1981; Hansen 1992) regarding the relative position of indigenous African women, similar discussions regarding diaspora Africans are all but absent. The literature on Rastafarian women has also been conspicuously absent until very recently (Kitzinger 1969; Llaloo 1981; Rowe 1985). The discourse on Rastafarian women relative to Rasta men is broadened by clarifying the specific religious beliefs and cultural practices which "legitimate" women's subordination.

HISTORICAL-RELIGIOUS ROOTS OF RASTA

Before discussing women's positions within and attitudes about Rastafari,² it is necessary to briefly outline the genesis and progress of Jamaican Rastafarians. Although many people feel that they "know" who the Rastas are, this "knowledge" is often limited to cultural expressions manifested by dreadlocks,³ reggae music, and Bob Marley. These are only some of the more popular cultural expressions or symbols of this group and do not reflect the full range of historical and socio-political circumstances that gave rise to Rastafari.

The literature (Barrett 1968, 1977; Owens 1976) indicates that the birth of Rastafari occurred in 1930. While this date marks the crystallization of a number of social and political-economic dimensions, including the coronation of Haile Selassie who Rastas consider a God, one might more accurately say that Rasta originated with the transport of African slaves to Jamaica beginning in the sixteenth century. The consistent resistance by these Africans throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Clarke & Garvey 1974; Barrett 1977; Campbell 1990) contributed to the emancipation of slaves in 1834 which brought about *de jure* freedom while the power relations between people of African and European descent remained in place (Beckford & Witter 1980). Post-emancipation Africans in Jamaica had few skills that would allow them any degree of autonomy and were, therefore, forced to sell their labor as their only means of survival. The continued exploitation of the laboring class by the plantocracy included low wages, poor working conditions, and landlessness. These social conditions were instrumental in instigating the 1938 rebellion which prompted legislation to ameliorate these conditions. This legislation, however, did not increase the working class' access to the means of production.

Foremost among early twentieth-century leaders who fought for fair

labor practices in Jamaica was Marcus Garvey (1887-1940). His advocacy of better working conditions resulted in his being blackballed by Jamaican businesses. This compelled Garvey to travel to other colonies and countries in the Caribbean and Latin America where he encountered similar conditions of exploitation (Martin 1983). Garvey's awareness of the international nature of the oppression of diaspora Africans encouraged him to form the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) which launched his career as a pan-African proponent (Lewis 1988; Campbell 1990).⁴ The main thrust of Garvey's message was on the redemption of diaspora Africans in Africa. He preached that there were no opportunities for people of African descent in the diaspora and that chances for their cultural and political-economic advancement could only be realized in Africa (Clarke & Garvey 1974:liiii-liv, 379; Martin 1976:23-24).⁵

Even though this back-to-Africa plan failed, the literature credits Garvey with organizing the largest movement among people of African descent in the twentieth century which instilled in his followers a renewed sense of pride in their African roots. Although Garvey was not a Rastafarian, one of his most important contributions to the Rastafarian movement was his notion of a "Black God." This, as well as the continuity of African religious practices in Jamaica at large, are major factors in the rise of Rastafari.

Garvey (1967:34) strongly advocated that diaspora Africans worshipped a god in their own image by proposing that "(w)e Negroes believe in the God of Ethiopia, the everlasting God, God the Father, God the Son and the Holy Ghost, the One God of all ages. That is the God in whom we believe, but we shall worship Him through the spectacles of Ethiopia." That the crowned Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie, (whose former name was Ras Tafari) claimed to be the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords lent further credence to the idea of a black God in the minds of these Jamaicans. These set of events, as well as Garvey's political ideology, laid the groundwork for a Rastafarian ideology which incorporated his ideas regarding secular and religious Ethiopianism (Clarke & Garvey 1974:381-82).⁶ From a cultural perspective the emergence of Rastafari and the belief in the divinity of Haile Selassie was significant since people of African descent could now think of themselves as "being one with, and of sharing in an attribute of God" (Chevannes 1990:135) thereby elevating the status of people of African descent.

There are a number of Jamaican personalities who are credited with the formulation of Rastafari. The history of its leaders, most notably Leonard Howell, Robert Hinds, Joseph Hibbert, and Archibald Dunkley can be studied in a number of works (Barrett 1977:80-89; Williams 1981:30-35; Campbell 1990:69-72, 93-95). One aspect of Rastafarian leadership that is

important to note for our purposes is that there were no women among them. This, it should be emphasized, is typical of Jamaican political leadership, and to a large extent, of Caribbean governments in general.⁷ Not only have women been relegated to second-class status in the political realm (Harrison 1988:115-16), but this subordinate position has been the norm in other spheres of Jamaican life as well (Senior 1991; Spaulding 1993).

Early Rastafarians were not well accepted by the general Jamaican populace nor by the Jamaican authorities (Yawney 1984). The generalized antipathy toward Rastafarians was precipitated by a Rasta ideology which reiterated Garvey's back-to-Africa promulgations. The wearing of dreadlocks, the consumption of ganja (marijuana), and their belief in its divine properties also served to alienate them from the rest of Jamaican society (Campbell 1990:95-120). Rastas have rejected (at least theoretically) the social and political-economic structure of capitalist Jamaican society (which they call Babylon), a stance that further antagonized middle-class Jamaicans and those aspiring to this position.

In the 1950s and 1960s isolated violent confrontations between sectors of Rastafarians and the police were generalized to give a negative image to Rastas as a whole. Beginning in the late 1960s, this image began to change as a result of in-depth research on Rastas by scholars, from the University of the West Indies in particular (Nettleford 1972:64). Ensuing reports emphasized Rastas' concern for "peace and love." Moreover, the fact that the Jamaican government "was itself displaying much interest in Africa" added legitimacy to Rasta claims regarding the centrality of Ethiopianism (Nettleford 1972:64). At the same time, "some members of prominent families deviated from traditional patterns by exploring new ideas ... some smoked ganja and were open to Rastafarians, reggae, and African culture and style" (Douglass 1992:159). This remains the case today as is witnessed by the incorporation of Rasta symbolism into every-day Jamaican life (Yawney 1984:95; Waters 1985:106; Austin-Broos 1987:6).

Presently, Rastas live in all of the parishes (districts) in Jamaica, but are most heavily concentrated in the Corporate area (Kingston and St. Andrew) and St. Catherine. According to the most recent figures, there are 2,588 Rasta women and 11,661 men out of a total Jamaican population of 2.5 million (Statistical Institute of Jamaica 1982). Austin-Broos (1987:21) explains the disparities in membership between men and women by asserting that the Rastafarian religion "has not been attractive to working-class women with religious sensibility simply because its ethic, symbolism and social context, more often address the concerns of men."

Even though Rastas distinguish themselves in religious interpretation, language,⁸ and food ways (Lake 1985) they resonate with other Jamaicans in

a number of ways. One of the most palpable areas of cultural articulation is their devotion to Christianity. While many Rastas claim that they are not a religious group, they use the Judeo-Christian Bible in religious ceremonies and as the basis for their ideology. They contend that both the New and Old Testaments are distorted versions of sacred texts written in Amharic (the official language of Ethiopia). Thus, they read selectively from the Bible and apply their own interpretations.

Although Rastafari depart in some ways from more "traditional" revivalist religions in Jamaica, "crucial aspects of the Revival world outlook are very much alive in Rastafari" including ritual structure, songs, and spirit possession (Chevannes 1990:139). Other carry overs from Revivalist, or African centered religions, include a new mode of speech and the beliefs in "the nearness of God and oneness of being between Him and man" and "women as a source of evil" (Chevannes 1990:142). This latter religious tenet gives sustenance to the subordinated roles and statuses of Rasta women and is in keeping with the patriarchal nature of Christian dogma which legitimates the secondary position of women in general (Ruether 1974; Dunfee 1989).

WOMEN IN JAMAICAN SOCIETY

The subordination of women in Jamaican society can be witnessed at every level. Men hold the most powerful political positions and control the more lucrative economic transactions. This political-economic stratification has its counterparts in everyday male/female relations. As Douglass (1992) asserts, the "marked" status of the female cuts across class boundaries where women defer to men in spite of the level of economic independence of the former.

Even though African Jamaican women, like African-diaspora women everywhere, had to work as hard as their male counterparts during slavery and post-slavery periods (Sutton & Makiesky-Barrow 1981; Mintz 1981) this was not equivalent to their being on equal footing with men. The unevenness of these relations should not be surprising since women in traditional African societies were also subject to the rules and mores created and enforced by African men (Obbo 1980). The post-slavery period in Jamaica did not bring much relief to women who came to epitomize the feminization of poverty based on two important factors: first, traditionally women have been circumscribed to the lower-paying wage labor or small scale market enterprises and second, women by and large have borne the brunt of child care single-handedly which has had the effect of further eroding their already fragile economic position (Standing 1981; Senior 1991:187-94).

These disadvantageous realities in the economic sphere are given sustenance by a cultural ideology that places more restrictions on women than on men in daily life. It is important to note that middle-class and elite women are also dependent on their male partners. Economically independent women of any class also feel compelled by social norms to defer to the needs of and to accept the behaviors of Jamaican men (Douglass 1992:250). What is important to understand relative to the connection between the secular and religious spheres, is that religious ideology and everyday practices are not separate from one another, but are mutually reinforcing in legitimating sexual hegemony. For example, the fact that men (both Rasta and non-Rasta) are considered to be heads of households is legitimated by Biblical passages which deem men to be superior to women (see Ephesians 5:22-24).

Rastafarian women have been victims of the same constraints as Jamaican women at large (Rowe 1985:16). Strict Biblical interpretations and other cultural beliefs that constitute Rastafarian ideology work to further institutionalize their subordinate status. These constraints include the absence of women in leadership positions, proscriptions on ways of dressing, and notions of female pollution.

VOICES OF WOMEN RASTAFARI

I have done research among Rastafarians at different intervals since 1984 (Lake 1985). On each of these occasions I conducted interviews with Rastafarian women regarding infant feeding practices, the use of herbal medicines, and their views regarding the position of Rastafarian women within the movement. During my most recent visit in 1993, I talked with approximately thirty women and asked them various questions regarding this latter topic. These informants were between twenty-five and forty years old and all but two had one or more children. Most of them lived in the Kingston area although several women lived in the parishes of St. James, Clarendon, Westmoreland, and St. Thomas. The majority of these informants have a high school education and five hold a college degree.⁹

A discourse on Rastafarian women is in general difficult to launch because Rastafari do not constitute a monolithic group. The most prominent sectors of this movement include the Twelve Tribes, the Nyabingi, and the Buba Shanti.¹⁰ Not all Rastas are affiliated with a particular group. The Buba Shanti, who live as a community in an area in St. Thomas known as Bull Bay, are the most orthodox of all Rasta groups. One of the main aspects that distinguishes them from the others is their belief that their leader, Prince Emmanuel, is divine and that Haile Selassie is a leader of the same

magnitude as Marcus Garvey. Prince Emmanuel has claimed to be "descended bodily from heaven to the parish of St. Elizabeth in 1915 and thus, like the biblical Melchizedek, ... had no mortal parents" (White 1983:31). The Nyabingi also consider Haile Selassie as a king, but not as Christ. Buba Shanti orthodoxy is reflected in a more strict dress code for women which includes full-length skirts and the requirement that their heads be covered in public. While these prescriptions are generally applied to all Rasta women, those who are not Buba Shanti do not always adhere to them. In economic terms, the Buba Shanti are more self-sufficient, although not better off, than the other groups since they make and sell brooms and other crafts in order to maintain their community.

Although the majority of Rastafarians fall within the lower economic classes, many middle and upper-class Jamaicans became Rastas in the late 1960s. Most of this constituency are members of the Twelve Tribes which is generally thought to be more conservative and more organized than other Rasta groups. Formerly this group held regular meetings at its headquarters near the estate of Bob Marley on New Hope Road. Recently this headquarters was abandoned and, while the Twelve Tribes members still identify themselves as such, these meetings have ceased.

Other variations among these groups are reflected in differences of opinion regarding the degree of supremacy of Haile Selassie, varying ideas on race relations, and the relative position of women in Jamaican society and within RastafarI. Similarities that pervade all groups are the belief in the divinity or elevated status of Haile Selassie,¹¹ that redemption lies in repatriation to Africa, and that ganja (marijuana) is a holy weed.¹² These commonalities notwithstanding, Rastas are acephalous and lack the kind of unity that could serve as a basis for political activism (Chevannes 1990:143). All of these components of RastafarI have been discussed elsewhere (Owens 1976; Barrett 1977); however, the position of RastafarI women has been given very scant attention.

Christianity has long been part of religious philosophy held by Afro-Jamaicans. Rastafarian women are particularly affected by its Biblical teachings given the strict interpretation Rastafarians lend to this text. Rowe (1985:13-14), a Rastafarian scholar, concedes that because

RastafarI is based on the Bible, it, therefore, follows that its structure and philosophy would pattern that which unfolds in the Bible ... To understand RastafarI attitudes to females it is necessary to understand the roles of females in the Bible.

The relative position of women and men is explicit in many sections of this sacred text. In Biblical fashion, Rastafarians assume that "(m)ales are the physical and spiritual head of the female as well as the family" (Rowe

1985:15). That Rastas strictly interpret many parts of the Bible is most clearly demonstrated in their adherence to the following passage.

Let the wives be subject to their husbands as to the Lord; because a husband is head of the wife, just as Christ is the head of the church, being himself savior of the body. But just as the Church is subject to Christ, so also let wives be to their husbands in all things (Ephesians 5:22-24).

The Buba Shanti clearly embody this biblical passage and invigorate Rubin's (1975:164ff.) findings that "women do not talk to god." During my research in 1992 I asked several Buba Shanti women about their roles in the church. It is interesting to note that even though I asked to speak to women in the group, a man came in to join us and did most of the talking. (This was not the only time that this occurred throughout my fieldwork.) On this occasion, his response to my question regarding women leaders in the church was as follows,

A woman can't speak to the congregation. You can't have women preachers going up on a pulpit. Her nakedness could be displayed. The man creates everything so he must be the head. That's why the world is like it is because women are doing too many things that she shouldn't be doing. It is an abomination for a woman to do things pertaining to the man and vice versa.

This view closely mirrors Biblical passages which sacralize the subordination of women. The most direct passage was given by Paul in 1 Corinthians XIV:34-35:

Let your women keep silent in the churches, for they are not permitted to speak; but they are to be submissive, as the law also says. And if they want to learn something, let them ask their own husbands at home, for it is shameful for women to speak in church.

An informant who owned and operated a small business, and who is raising her children on her own, asserted that

a woman must know when to speak in the congregation, but that don't say she don't know truth and right. But for me, this [not being able to speak until allowed by men] won't work. For other dawtas [daughters] like me, we are more independent. We are economically independent.

Another informant told me that

You have the order of the Nyabingi where at one stage women were not really permitted to be vocal in the sense of making statements and contributing to reasoning [conversations] in the house. This has now changed where women are now seen and heard.

Rastafari, like most cultures, is mutable, but changes are coming slowly, as they are in Jamaica as a whole, in part because male domination has been internalized by Rasta women. Witness the following interview excerpt:

So man is the head of women. The Bible clearly says that the man must respect the woman. But you must have that head in the family. I know some feminists have a problem with that, but I don't see a problem with it. I don't remember exactly where, but somewhere in Corinthians it says that man is the head of woman and god is the head of man.

Another Rasta woman, who was not a member of any of the three Rasta groups mentioned above, offered a different perspective. While she stated that she "honor(s) and respect(s) a man," she added that:

I think the statement that a man should be the head of the household is a wrong statement. The reason is that the majority, in the whole earth set up, it is the woman who passes on education, philosophy, and all information to the youths. So I see the woman as one of the main builders of the nation. So I think in black and white issues, we got some things wrong, and I think we got some things wrong in gender issues also. But it's a thing that people don't want to look into.

Another Rasta informant asserted that

[d]awtas who come through their king man,¹³ they shave their heads when their king man leaves them. Some of them fade out of the Rasta movement. But those who come through Jah (god) themselves, they are strong. We are equals with men.

Clearly, there are different views and experiences among Rasta women relative to male supremacy, although the majority with whom I spoke agreed that the man is the spiritual leader among Rastafarians and within the household. Women who were part of common living arrangements (two or more families living in the same household or small communities) tended to adhere to this way of thinking more than others, although women cannot be strictly categorized in this way.

Even though part of Rastafarian ideology posits that women cannot enter Rastafari except through a man, Rastafarian women can, and do, join all of the groups at will. A Rastafarian woman in Kingston who owns a public relations business put it this way:

I came into Rasta through self-exploration. If it didn't come out of that, I'd be accepting dogma. And those elders who are really true Rasta elders would have less respect for somebody who is going to put themselves a certain way to gain acceptance than for somebody who is naturally following where their heart is leading.

WOMEN AND POLLUTION

The popular Rastafarian belief that women are not privy to man's wisdom is one reason offered by many Rasta men for restrictions placed on women. Another has to do with the alleged connection between women and pollution. Historically many other religions, including Christianity, consider women polluted during the time of their menstruation (Ruether 1974:273-74). More than one scholar (Anderson & Langley 1988; Meigs 1991:45-58) has attributed men's irrational construal of a natural, biological process as unclean to be a manifestation of their fear or jealousy of women's capabilities. Muslim and Christian religions in contemporary societies circumscribe women's physical mobility within places of worship as well as their mobility within leadership roles (Cornell 1992; Steinfels 1992). Buba Shanti are not exceptional in this regard.

Buba Shanti women are excluded within a restricted area during their menstruation (although I was told by these women that this area is not small or claustrophobic) and are not permitted to interact with men or "non-polluted" ("free") women during this period. Almost all other Rasta women I spoke with on this topic indicated that they accepted the principle of pollution and enjoyed the reprieve from household duties that this period of seclusion provided.

A Rastafarian lawyer whom I reasoned¹⁴ with, although she, too, curtailed certain activities around menstruation, presented another perspective relative to these restrictions:

What you find is that in the various mansions [Rasta groups], they have different ways of expressing Rastafari. For example, the Buba Shanti house has strict menstrual laws where the male and female are not allowed to communicate for three weeks of the menstrual cycle. However, what you will find is that when the Buba Shanti male comes out of the commune, he goes to the market, he comes to see his lawyer. She may be within the twenty-one days [pre- or post- menstrual]. She may be actually menstruating and so on. But then this is the order that they set upon the camp, which is a camp livity [way of life].

Other women who were not part of the Buba Shanti group adhered to the principal of uncleanness during menstruation as was expressed by the following informant.

[Another] Rasta principle is when you're getting your period. You mustn't do anything for the king man. Not [just] your own [king man], you know, but all the bredren for seven days because you're unclean. It is the period of purification.

The significance of this discussion is that the alleged polluted status of women has not only silenced them, but has done so by structurally precluding their eligibility for leadership (even co-leadership) status in the domestic and public arenas.

Although Rastafarian espousals for "liberation" is ostensibly a liberation for all people, *de facto* practices suggest that this quest for liberation is a qualified one that assumes certain mobilities for men and Biblically sanctioned proscriptions for women.

LANGUAGE

Language is another medium where male and female statuses are clearly delineated. Among the Buba, little boys are called "princes." Men are called "priests" or "prophets." Little girls are referred to as "princesses", and at twenty-one they become "empresses." Among Rastas in general, men are called "king" or "kingman" and women are called "queen." Many Rasta women, however, found it interesting that even though the term "queen" is sometimes used, women are generally referred to as "daughters" by both men and women.

Music is also used to reify the perceptions and roles of women. One woman mentioned the fact that even in the Rastafarian anthem "there is not that much attention given to Queen Omega." The language used in reggae music also acts to symbolically reproduce the subordinate position of Jamaican women (Silvera 1980; Campbell 1990:199). Even though reggae is touted as a revolutionary expression of Rastafari (Campbell 1990:124-52), it is conservative on the issues of women's freedom and equality. In a study done by Anderson and Langley (1988:4), it was shown that reggae lyrics perpetuate the notion of women's primary roles as housewives and sex objects. "Women who do not elect or reject the role of housewomen are portrayed as lacking in substance, as shallow, [or] as superficial."

The Buba Shanti reject reggae altogether as a symbol of Rastafari. A number of other Rasta women, as the following excerpt indicates, are disenchanted with the messages portrayed in some reggae music. This passage is particularly interesting because it includes an excerpt from a Rastafarian woman (Rf) and her partner (Rm) who voiced different views on the direction of reggae music. Referring to the European and European American promotion of reggae music, Rf offered the following.

Rf: I think the Europeans just want to see the black race laughed at according to the things that they promote, things that are not edifying to our young, singing so many

derogatory things about women. When you start to underrate the woman of this world, I think you are doomed.

Rm: I think it's just one aspect of reggae music.

Rf: Yes, but they are playing upon it.

Rm: I think you should tell her [the interviewer] that we still have conscious reggae music whose message hasn't changed from Bob Marley.

Rf: Yah, man, you have that, but what they are promoting now, the most popular person now in reggae, Shaba Ranks, he's not saying much. He's even leading the youths astray more than anything else. And you have great reggae artists who do not gain that popularity because of social status here.

To me I don't see many Rasta women in music and I don't know why because you have talented Rasta women. I've traveled quite a bit going to different shows. And of all the shows I've been on, maybe I might be the only Rasta woman there, sometimes I'm the only woman. I think that's why the music is getting out of hand because we don't have a lot of women even coming out and saying that we don't appreciate what they're saying about us.

The derogatory or subordinate roles assigned to women in Jamaican music is not new (Hebdige 1987:66). Calypso and other Caribbean music, which preceded reggae, also contained themes that depicted women primarily as objects for man's sexual pleasure (Elder 1968:33; Douglass 1988; Senior 1991:167-68). The use of musical lyrics to undermine the social and personal integrity of women is not limited to Jamaican music, but is witnessed in a number of musical forms.

Derogation of women in Jamaican music has been viewed as a manifestation of "(m)ale resentment against female competence and assertiveness which often encourage men to control or dominate women lest the latter's alleged cleverness, deviousness, and promiscuity endanger men's standing in the home and community" (Harrison 1988:114). Popular expressions that act to perpetuate women's subordinate status are also found in other popular representations, for example, mass media advertisements (Henry & Wilson 1975:193-94; Antrobus & Gordon 1984:120; Harrison 1988:114) that clearly legitimate women's economic and sexual subordination.

WOMEN'S DRESS AND HAIR

The vast majority of Rastafarians with whom I spoke contended that Rastafarism is not a religion. This view notwithstanding, Rastas use the Christian Bible as their sacred text; they are very familiar with its contents, and inter-

pret many of its passages in the strictest terms. Rasta proscriptions pertaining to women's dress is but one example that embodies the following Biblical passage.

The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth to a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment: for all that do so *are* abomination unto the LORD thy God" (Deuteronomy 22:5, emphasis in original).

A Nyabingi woman spoke positively of Rasta women's distinctive dress:

When you see a Rasta dawta come, you know she's a Rasta because of the way she adorns herself. We no wear pants, we no wear shorts, you know. In the good old ancient way, that's the way we dress.

While Buba Shanti men sometimes dress in turbans and long robes, most Rasta men cannot be distinguished from other Jamaican men by their dress. Rasta women, on the other hand, do not wear pants and must wear calf or ankle length dresses and head coverings.¹⁵ Other Rasta women followed codes of dress that differentiated them from other Jamaican women and stated that they were symbolic of what it meant to be a Rasta woman.

Rasta women have certain dignity, the way they dress and the way they speak and the way they walk in such a dignified way. You'd never see a Rasta woman dye her hair six different colors and wearing some little thing. It's a total consciousness. So we are seen as more of a moral people in terms of keeping the sanity of the flesh on a low profile. Yes. That is how we as a people gain respect from society.

Even though this informant felt that Rasta dress codes were part of what made Rasta women Rasta, she called for some latitude on these matters.

I'm one of the women who likes to wear my hair without a tie and you might find that the [Rasta] sisters have a problem with that. So others who are radical like me might defend it and say, "No, she's a Rasta because she do this and she do that. Just what Rasta is about." Because we are about development and progress, yes. And being a Rasta is one of the highest forms that you should definitely try to promote in terms of His Majesty [Haile Selassie] because he's a progressive man. He speaks of development, that we should develop ourselves so that our race can be strong. So I might put beads in my hair and somebody might have problems with that. A Rasta woman might say that I shouldn't decorate my hair, but that's just her concept. Because whether you wear it on your hair or on your neck or ankle, it's no different because each part of you is important. So when I wear it in my hair, it's no different. My hair is as important as my neck. So you get different people's views. You just have to live and be satisfied deep down within yourself and know what you want.

This more radical stance among Rasta women may be indicative of a new wave of Rastafarianism, but one that I suggest will not move faster than the gender relations in Caribbean society at large.

EVOLUTION OF RASTA WOMEN

The vast majority of women with whom I spoke shared the view with Rasta men that the latter were the spiritual leaders of the movement and the heads of their households. Most believed that a Rasta woman could not become Rasta except through her Rasta man. There were a number of women, however, who found these notions unacceptable. This dissent from current ideology can be explained in part by the women's educational level and economic independence.

The majority of Rastafarian men are engaged in a variety of small-scale entrepreneurial activities. The majority of women I spoke with were living with their husbands or male partners, and carried an equal or greater burden of economic responsibility. Professional women were lawyers, teachers, or business women. Others engaged in a variety of income producing activities which included craft production, sewing and embroidery, food marketing, and selling ganja. Rasta women, in spite of the view regarding male supremacy, are very clear on the pivotal role they play in keeping hearth and home together.

In the summer of 1992 Rastafarian women were featured on a weekly television program called "Tuesday Forum." A Rastafarian woman who has a law practice in downtown Kingston commented on the discussion that took place on the show:

A lot of us [Rasta women] should have been there and could not because of the Centenary celebrations and we are very busy.¹⁶ But one of the sisters on that program made the point that what is happening in the Rastafari tradition is a part of the society and world at large where the woman is seen a secondary being. She came from the rib of Adam and, therefore, she must listen and hear what he has to say. She is subservient and so forth. But this has to be balanced against the reality, especially in our society where the woman plays a very strong role in that she is raised often in the absence of a father. So the woman has to be both mother and father.

This excerpt expresses the very fundamental ways in which Rasta women share the experiences of Jamaican and African Caribbean women in general (Henry & Wilson 1975; Clarke 1979). Even given a certain acceptance of religious doctrine this informant as well as others saw themselves as playing a major role in the development of their families. As mentioned earlier, women assume roles as the primary care takers (whether or not there is a man living in the house). That a large proportion of these women are also working outside the home, makes child care particularly burdensome. Facing this task, as well as grappling with racial and cultural discrimination are clearly articulated by the following informant.

Interviewer: Do you think that Rasta women have any particular problems or goals that are different, say, from other Jamaican women?

Rf: Lot, a lot. Because the thing is that we have three things up against us – being black, being a woman, and being Rasta. We have a lot of barriers to break down before we can even reach what we want to reach in a satisfied way. The majority of what I know came from either my mother, or my grandmother, or my aunt. I can hardly think of much that men in the family taught me. My grandmother passed on a rich history to me. My grandfather was always there but he did not know how to bring it across like my grandmother. And I've always seen that in other families. So I think it's a wrong concept [to say that men are the head].

[Her partner, whom I will call Rm, joins the conversation.]

Rm: The black man doesn't have anything to do with the household. He's not totally responsible for it.

Rf: No, he's not totally responsible, but he has something to do with it. He's not just a person who is being led. He can think, he has feelings, he can relate. So he can't just give to somebody else that responsibility.

Rm: He spends seven days trying to find bread.

Rf: But sometimes the woman is spending the same seven days trying to find bread and then she has to come home and relate to those youths and wash, cook, clean ... What women do, I'm telling you! I'm working hard and trying to give women some credit in this world and I'm going to achieve it.

In contemporary Jamaican society, working class women not only bear the brunt of the domestic duties, but contribute more than their economic share to the household. Deere (1990:72) reported that 63 percent of all the women in stable unions were directly responsible for household expenditures. Bolles (1983:154) also found that "women [factory] workers were directly responsible for the major household expenditures in 84 percent of the visiting-union households, 81 percent of the single-woman households, and 63 percent of stable-union households." These economic responsibilities notwithstanding, it should be understood that women who are heads of households, and, therefore, do not have stable male partners, still depend on male support to supplement their incomes (Senior 1991:133-35; Douglass 1992). Although many Rasta women are also heads of households, one Rasta woman commented on the difference between Rasta and non-Rasta men:

To be honest, I would say that Rasta men are far more gentler than other men. You don't find much Rasta men abusing women. The thing that makes Rasta men different from other men is that they try to liberate themselves and try to know more about how to deal with their home and their family. You find other men come from work and go to the rum bar, while Rasta men don't deal with the rum bar so much ... So they find more time to educate themselves and to deal with their family.

CONCLUSION

There is a plethora of literature that recognizes the correspondence between women's economic dependence and their deference to men (Henry & Wilson 1975; Gill 1984; Safa 1986; Sen & Grown 1987). While the literature is somewhat united on the connection between economics and subordination, it is less clear on strategies for change. Douglass (1992:256-57) comes closest to addressing these issues by emphasizing the connection between race, class, and gender in her explication of women's subordination in Jamaica. She points out that it is mostly lighter-skinned women who represent the elite and middle classes, but that even these women defer to men since their status as women is defined as subordinate relative to *all* men.

To add to Douglass's very cogent argument regarding ways in which race, class, and gender reinforce one another, I hasten to suggest a closer look at the political-economic system as a partial basis for Jamaican sexual stratification. In this regard, it is important to point out that male/female relations of dominance has been historically characteristic in Jamaican society, and operates within the same matrix as European/African hegemony. That is, just as Africans and people of African descent became dependent upon Europeans by virtue of the latter's usurpation of African material resources, women lack the necessary control over material resources (land and technology) that would obviate their dependence on men. A movement toward a more egalitarian society, free from domestic or foreign capitalism is, I suggest, the first step (although not the only step) in ameliorating the position of women.

Even though Rastafarians derogue the notion of capitalism, they are very much a part of this system as is exhibited in their financial relations within the wider society and in intergroup transactions (Campbell 1990:148-49). This is not to suggest that without capitalism Rastafarian women would be on an equal footing with men, but to suggest that equal access to material resources would facilitate their *de facto* independence.

While Jamaican women in general, and Rastafarian women in particular, have made some strides in social and economic spheres (Senior 1991:3), barriers to achieving an egalitarian position relative to men are still in place (Bolles 1983). In spite of these realities, the myth of the matriarchy in Jamaican society, especially among the lower classes, remains an unsubstantiated normative construct because of what I suggest is a confusion between domestic responsibilities on one hand, and power in male/female relationships on the other. That is, many working-class women are often forced to support their households almost single-handedly. This is a burdensome task which is not to be equated with liberation. Even while bearing these respon-

sibilities dominant men may be permanent or transient members of households (Smith 1982; Douglass 1992). These uneven relationships in the domestic sphere are a reflection of male control in larger societal institutions.

Men own and control all of the large social and economic institutions (Klak & Key 1992) and maintain a monopoly in political positions of power (Douglass 1992:248-50; Spaulding 1993). Labor market segregation allows employers to pay women, as a group, lower wages than men. In situations where men are permanent members of households, these factors reinforce women's economic dependence on men and lay the ground work for women's subordination both in the workplace and in the household.

In addition to the creation of a society where women would have equal access to material resources, women need to produce positive cultural images that would resonate with their newly acquired positions in society. Currently, male control over cultural resources (e.g., religious texts and popular media) also operate to derogate women and augment male prerogatives.

Women's status in Jamaican society, in general, is paradigmatically defined by her relationship to males. This status is kept in check by explicit boundaries that define female acceptable behavior. This dynamic is elucidated by explicit definitions as to what constitutes a *lady*. According to Douglass (1992:248) a Jamaican woman's status as a lady "is threatened if she remains (or becomes) single because a lady should also be a wife. Being a lady entails devotion and sometimes even subservience to men and other family members: A lady is expected to place their interests over her own." Douglass's findings make clear the derogated position of lower-class women, many of whom are unmarried. For upper-class women, their main source of status is by virtue of their being married, but this status "is simultaneously circumscribed by men and by family."

The subordinated position of lower class women necessitates a certain aggressiveness in their struggle for survival. Cultural images of the Jamaican woman higgler are a perfect example of the discouragement of such female behaviors. Even though the higgler is admired for her relative autonomy, she is also regarded as

a comical character, a caricature of a woman ... [A]lthough she is highly independent and self-sufficient, women like the higgler possess little of Jamaica's economic and political power. The image of the higgler, this woman whom Jamaicans claim as their powerful 'matriarch,' reigns only within the restricted limits of power relegated to people of her sex, color, and class ... In regard to femininity, Jamaicans ridicule the higgler and praise the lady. When they do this they are not simply expressing preferences about female style. The discourse surrounding these two contrasting images also encourages practices that help to reproduce a social order in which men dominate

women, where whites rule over people of color, and where everyone is ranked by class (Douglass 1992:248-49).

Rasta women continue to exert tremendous influence and authority over children and the maintenance of their households; however, these dimensions are acted out under economic duress and are subject to male prerogatives. Men act out their privileged status by freely exercising their sexual prowess in the form of multiple partners – without negative societal sanctions –; they have more mobility in congregating in various public spheres, and continue to exercise violence against women in and outside their families (Senior 1991:166-68, 183). Religious texts and interpretations constitute a sacred legitimization of these behaviors. In this regard, the fact that religious texts are *produced after cultural ideologies and practices are in place*, and are reproduced and elaborated on by men, is critical to any analysis of male domination. Although Rasta men may differ in their rhetoric of liberation and their Afrocentric symbolism compared to other Jamaican men, their *de facto* relationship to women is retrogressive (Campbell 1990:199-200).

On this matter, I will give the last word to a Rasta informant who called for more clarity on the part of Rasta sisters as a strategy in bringing about equality among men and women.

I'd say that Rasta women are in the forefront in terms of African-Jamaican women and are the Jamaican women who really stand up in livity in the society and who have to be respected. It is my honest view that Rasta women need more support from Rasta men, more real support. Giving credit where credit is due, Rasta men compared to many other men in this society are *usually* very conscious about family, about children. There are very few Rasta children who you'll ever see in children's home because they are like the African family. They take care of one another. At the same time, like the majority of women, but sometimes more so, the initiative and spirit of the Rasta woman is many times too oppressed. It was a good thing when some Rastafari sisters got together and brought Queen Mother Moore¹⁷ to Jamaica and they really had an idea to work towards the setting up of an educational center and welfare center. And I think this is a good idea. But instead of some Rastafari bredren seeing the assertion of the women and the great activity of the women as something that uplifts the whole family and the whole African people, too many Rasta bredren looked on it as a threat. And I think this type of attitude, this behavior, keeps back both the Rasta man and the Rasta woman. Because I think that it is the woman – in the same way that I said that black people have a special responsibility in fighting for our freedom and for freedom for all peoples – similarly women as a gender have that responsibility. They should clear the roadblocks which men put up in front of them.

NOTES

1. These interviews were conducted during fieldwork in Kingston in 1992 and 1993.
2. Many Rastafarians prefer that they not be referred to as a movement. Therefore, I use one of their own terms, Rastafari, to describe the philosophy and the members in their groups.
3. Dreadlocks, the distinctive natural hairstyle adopted by Rastafarians, are an expression of their African identity. Rastas wear their hair in long locks which they claim is not combed or styled. This practice, as with many others, has its foundation in the Bible (Leviticus 19:27 and Numbers 6:5).
4. Garvey established the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League in Kingston on August 1, 1914. He established the American branch of the UNIA in New York in June 1917 (Hill 1987). Although the term "pan-African" was not used until the early twentieth century by Henry Sylvester Williams (Martin 1983:14; Skinner 1973:8), people of African descent before Williams, such as Edward Blyden, Alexander Crummel, and Martin Delany, used the term "pan-Negro" and proposed that only the unity of people of African descent across cultures and across geographical boundaries could bring about self-determination.
5. Chevannes (1990) points out that Garvey did not advocate the wholesale repatriation of diaspora Africans. Nevertheless, he was the strongest advocate of diaspora African emigration in the twentieth century. These emigration proposals included trade between Africa and the African diaspora which was driven by a compulsion to create an environment where political-economic integrity was possible for indigenous and diaspora Africans.
To remedy the predicament of diaspora Africans, Garvey and other members of the UNIA negotiated with the Liberian government to settle diaspora Africans in that area. Garvey may have realized his plans had not the U.S. government collaborated with Liberian officials to install the Firestone Rubber Company in Liberia at the expense of Garvey's repatriation schemes.
Resistance to Garvey's preachings also came from a number of quarters including W.E.B. DuBois and other African-American elites (Fax 1972:133-36; Clark & Garvey 1973:378; Martin 1976:274-311) and the U.S. government. For this and other reasons having to do with a lack of business acumen, Garvey did not repatriate the large groups of diaspora Africans he had envisioned. His conviction for mail fraud in 1923 and his subsequent deportation (1925) greatly affected his political momentum to organize repatriation. Nevertheless, Garvey's influence in many parts of the Americas and in Africa was unequalled. His anti-colonialist philosophy reached Africa via his newspaper, *The Negro World*, which spurred many indigenous Africans to revolt against European suzerainty (Martin 1976, 1983; Lewis 1988).
6. Garvey and Rastafarians use the term Ethiopia symbolically to refer to the continent of Africa.
7. The only exceptions are Eugenia Charles, prime minister of Dominica, and Maria Liberia-Peters, former prime minister of the Netherlands Antilles.
8. In standard Jamaican patois, the first singular person is "me." The Rastafarian sees this as an expression of subservience, making the speaker always the object and never the subject, and overcompensates [by dropping the first syllable of a word and replacing it with 'I'] (Waters 1985:106-7), e.g., "Ital" for vital. There are a number of other terms that Rasta replaces with their own version, such as "*Jah*, [which is] a variant of the Hebrew *Yahweh*, the name of the Judeo-Christian god" (Waters 1985:107).
9. Most of the interviews were recorded on a cassette recorder and lasted from one to two

hours. In addition, I engaged in participant observation within the homes of some of these women, as well as in other settings.

10. In addition to referring to a group of elders, "Nyabingi" is also used to refer to important Rastafarian meetings which are presided over by a "leading brother" (Barrett 1977:120). The term Nyabingi is East African and referred to a religious-political group who resisted colonial domination in the first part of the twentieth century. "In Jamaica the term means 'death to the Black and White oppressors'" (Barrett 1977:121).

Buba Shanti, or Buba, is the name and spelling that is most often used for this group in Jamaica. The formal name of the group is the Ethiopia Black International Congress (*Rastafari Speaks*, June 1983:26). There are no official figures on the numbers of Rastas who are affiliated with the various segments. Based on my observations and informants' testimonies, the Twelve Tribes and the Nyabingi are the largest groups.

11. Most Rastas believe in the divinity of Haile Selassie. The Buba Shanti and a small proportion of other Rasta consider him to be a powerful leader, but not a God.

12. Although ganja is consumed ritually and secularly by most Rastas, consumption varies from one group and one individual to the next. Although widely consumed by this group, and Jamaicans in general, there are Rastas who do not consume ganja.

13. King man is the term used by Rastafarian women to refer to their male partners.

14. Rastafarians use "reason" to connote discursive conversation.

15. The vast majority of Rastafarian women do not wear slacks. There is, however, a small number who think that it is acceptable to wear slacks of African design and made from African cloth.

16. In 1992 Rastafarians celebrated the centennial anniversary of Haile Selassie.

17. Queen Mother Moore is an African-American human rights activist who has been influential in the movement for diaspora-African reparations and civil rights for the past several decades.

REFERENCES

- ANDERSON, BEVERLY & WINSTON LANGLEY, 1988. Women as Depicted in Music in Jamaica. Unpublished paper, Caribbean Studies Association, XIV Annual Conference, Barbados.
- ANTROBUS, PEGGY & LORNA GORDON, 1984. The English-Speaking Caribbean: A Journey in the Making. In Robin Morgan (ed.), *Sisterhood is Global: The International Women's Movement Anthology*. Garden City: Anchor Books/Doubleday, pp. 118-26.
- AUSTIN-BROOS, DIANE J., 1987. Pentacostals and Rastafarians: Cultural, Political, and Gender Relations of Two Religious Movements. *Social and Economic Studies* 36(4):1-39.
- BARRETT, LEONARD, 1968. *The Rastafarians: A Study in Messianic Cultism*. Kingston: Sangsters.
- , 1977. *The Rastafarians: Dreadlocks of Jamaica*. Kingston: Sangsters.
- BECKFORD, GEORGE & MICHAEL WITTER, 1980. *Small Garden ... Bitter Weed: Struggle and Change in Jamaica*. London: Zed Press.
- BOLLES, LYNN, 1983. Kitchens Hit by Priorities: Employed Working-Class Jamaican Women

- Confront the IMF. In June Nash & Marcia Patricia Fernández-Kelly (eds.), *Men, Women, and the International Division of Labor*. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 138-72.
- BRITTAN, ARTHUR, 1989. *Masculinity and Power*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- CAMPBELL, HORACE, 1990. *Rasta and Resistance: From Marcus Garvey to Walter Rodney*. African World Press.
- CHEVANNES, BARRY, 1981. The Rastafari and Urban Youth. In Carl Stone & Aggrey Brown (eds.), *Perspectives on Jamaica in the Seventies*. Kingston: Jamaica Publishing House. pp. 292-422.
- , 1990. Rastafari: Towards a New Approach. *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids/New West Indian Guide* 64:127-48.
- CLARKE, EDITH, 1979. *My Mother Who Fathered Me: A Study of a Family in Three Selected Communities in Jamaica*. London: George Allen & Unwin. [Orig. 1957.]
- CLARKE, JOHN H. & AMY JACQUES GARVEY, 1974. *Marcus Garvey and the Vision of Africa*. New York: Vintage Books.
- CORNELL, GEORGE W., 1992. Bishops May Table Policy on Women. *Press Citizen*, November 18.
- DEERE, CARMEN DIANA et al., 1990. *In the Shadows of the Sun: Caribbean Development Alternatives and U.S. Policy*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- DOUGLASS, LISA, 1986. Review of *Race, Class, and Political Symbols: Rastafari and Reggae in Jamaican Politics*, by Anita Waters. *American Journal of Sociology* 91(5):1272-75.
- , 1992. *The Power of Sentiment: Love, Hierarchy, and the Jamaican Family Elite*. Boulder: Westview.
- DUNFEE, SUSAN NELSON, 1989. *Beyond Servanthood: Christianity and the Liberation of Women*. Lanham MD: University Press of America.
- ELDER, J.D., 1968. "The Male/Female Conflict in Calypso". *Caribbean Quarterly* 14(3):23-41.
- ETIENNE, MONA & ELEANOR LEACOCK, 1980. *Women and Colonization: Anthropological Perspectives*. New York: Praeger.
- FAX, ELTON C., 1972. *Garvey: The Story of a Pioneer Black Nationalist*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company.
- GARVEY, AMY J., 1967. *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*. London: Frank Cass.
- GILL, MARGARET, 1984. Women, Work and Development: Barbados 1946-1970. In *Women and Work*. Cave Hill, Barbados: Institute of Social and Economic Research, UWI.
- HANSEN, KAREN TRANBERG (ed.), 1992. *African Encounters with Domesticity*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- HARRISON, FAYE, 1988. Women in Jamaica's Urban Informal Economy: Insights from a Kingston Slum. *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids/New West Indian Guide* 62:103-28.
- HEBDIGE, DICK, 1987. *Cut 'n' Mix: Caribbean Music, Culture and Identity*. New York: Methuen.
- HENRY, FRANCES & PAMELA WILSON, 1975. The Status of Women in Caribbean Societies: An Overview of Their Social, Economic and Sexual Roles. *Social and Economic Studies* 24:165-98.

- HILL, ROBERT. 1987. Marcus Garvey Chronology. In *African Jubilee Year Official Launch Programme Marking the Centenary of the Birth of the Right Honourable Marcus Mosiah Garvey*. London: London Strategic Policy Unit.
- KITZINGER, SHEILA. 1969. Protest and Mysticism: The Rastafari Cult of Jamaica. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 8:240-62.
- KLAK, T.H. & J.K. KEY. 1992. Gender and State Bias in Jamaican Housing Programs. *World Development* 20:213-28.
- LAKE, OBIAGELE. 1985. Cultural Determinants of Breast Feeding among Jamaican Rastafarians. M.A. Thesis. Cornell University, Ithaca.
- LEWIS, RUPERT. 1988. *Marcus Garvey: Anti-Colonial Champion*. Trenton: Africa World Press.
- LLALOO, SISTER. 1981. Rastawoman as Equal. *Yard Roots* 1(1):7.
- MARTIN, TONY. 1976. *Race First: Ideology and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association*. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- . 1983. *The Pan-African Connection: From Slavery to Garvey and Beyond*. Dover MA: New Marcus Garvey Library.
- MEIGS, ANNA S.. 1991. *Food, Sex and Pollution: A New Guinea Religion*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- MINTZ, SIDNEY W.. 1981. Economic Role and Cultural Tradition. In Filomina C. Steady (ed.), *The Black Woman Cross-Culturally*. Cambridge: Schenkman, pp. 515-34.
- MOORE, HENRIETTA L.. 1988. *Feminism and Anthropology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- NETTLEFORD, REX. 1972. *Mirror, Mirror: Identity, Race, and Protest in Jamaica*. New York: William Morrow & Company.
- OBBO, CHRISTINE. 1980. *African Women: Their Struggle for Economic Independence*. London: Zed Press.
- ORTNER, SHERRY. 1974. Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture? In Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo & Louise Lamphere (eds.), *Women, Culture and Society*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. pp. 67-88.
- OWENS, JOSEPH. 1976. *Dread: The Rastafarians of Jamaica*. Jamaica: Montrose Printery.
- REITER, RAYNA R. (ed.). 1975. *Toward an Anthropology of Women*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- RUETHER, ROSEMARY RADFORD. 1974. *Religion and Sexism: Images of Women in the Jewish and Christian Traditions*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- ROBERTSON, CLAIRE. 1976. Ga Women and Socioeconomic Change in Accra, Ghana. In Nancy J. Hafkin & Edna G. Bay (eds.), *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. pp. 111-33.
- ROSALDO, MICHELLE ZIMBALIST & LOUISE LAMPHERE (eds.). 1974. *Women, Culture and Society*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- ROWE, MAUREEN. 1985. The Woman in Rastafari. In *Caribbean Quarterly Monograph*. University of West Indies: United Co-operative Printers. pp. 13-21.
- RUBIN, GAYLE. 1975. The Traffic in Women: Notes on the "Political Economy" of Sex. In Rayna R. Reiter (ed.), *Toward an Anthropology of Women*. New York: Monthly Review Press. pp. 157-210.

- SAFA, HELEN, 1986. Economic Autonomy and Sexual Equality in Caribbean Society. *Social and Economic Studies* 35(3):1-21.
- SEN, G. & C. GROWN, 1987. *Development, Crises, and Alternative Visions: Third World Women's Perspectives*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- SENIOR, OLIVE, 1991. *Working Miracles: Women's Lives in the English-Speaking Caribbean*. Cave Hill, Barbados: Institute of Social and Economic Research, UWI.
- SHOSTAK, MARJORIE, 1981. *Nisa: The Life and Words of a !Kung Woman*. New York: Random House.
- SILVERA, MAKEDA PATRICIA, 1980. *Sunday Gleaner Magazine*, February 10.
- SKINNER, E.P., 1973. *Afro-Americans in Africa: The Continuing Dialectic*. New York: The Urban Center, Colombia University.
- SPAULDING, GARY, 1993. MP Blasts Status of JA Women. *The Gleaner*, July 15.
- STANDING, GUY, 1981. *Unemployment and Female Labor*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- STATISTICAL INSTITUTE OF JAMAICA, 1982. *Population Census (Final Count)*. Kingston: STATIN.
- STEADY, FILOMENA C. (ed.), 1981. *The Black Woman Cross-Culturally*. Cambridge MA: Schenkman.
- STEINFELS, PETER, 1992. Pastoral Letter on Women's Role Fail in Vote of Catholic Bishops. *The New York Times* 142(49, 155) November 19.
- SUTTON, CONSTANCE & SUSAN MAKIESKY-BARROW, 1981. Social Inequality and Sexual Status in Barbados. In Filomena C. Steady (ed.), *The Black Woman Cross-Culturally*. Cambridge MA: Schenkman, pp. 1-52.
- WATERS, ANITA M., 1985. *Race, Class, and Political Symbols: Rastafari and Reggae in Jamaican Politics*. New Brunswick: Transaction Books.
- WHITE, TIMOTHY, 1983. *Catch A Fire: The Life of Bob Marley*. London: Corgi Books.
- WILLIAMS, K.M., 1981. *The Rastafarians*. London: Ward Lock Educational.
- YAWNEY, CAROL D., 1984. Dread Wasteland: Rastafarian Ritual in West Kingston, Jamaica. In Basil Hedrich, Jeanette Stephens, Carol Yawney & Frank Manning (eds.), *Anthropological Investigations in the Caribbean*. Greeley: University of Northern Colorado, pp. 90-111.

OBIAGELE LAKE
 Department of Anthropology
 University of Iowa
 Iowa City IA 52242, U.S.A.

NEIL J. SAVISHINSKY

TRANSNATIONAL POPULAR CULTURE AND THE GLOBAL SPREAD OF THE JAMAICAN RASTAFARIAN MOVEMENT

INTRODUCTION

The need to place culture in a broader, more globally-based perspective has never been more crucial than it is today, as powerful transnational concerns, acting in concert with the omnipresent (and increasingly omnipotent) forces of a rapidly expanding electronic communications industry, have nearly succeeded in consolidating the entire planet into a single unified system.¹ But until recently most social scientists engaged in world systems research have focused solely on the political and economic aspects of globalization, leaving unexamined vast and relatively uncharted areas of cultural interconnectedness (in the realms of art, music, cinema, fashion, sports, and religion, for example).

This article attempts to redress some of these omissions, by focusing on processes relating to the diffusion and globalization of "culture." The Jamaican Rastafarian movement and its attendant forms of expression are central to this study. With the increasing availability of low cost/highly sophisticated technologies, widespread transnational corporate expansion, global mediaization, and the commoditization of culture which inevitably arises from the combined actions of these agents (cf. Schiller 1976), it is no longer possible to ignore or underestimate the role such processes play in shaping the development and transformation of present-day human societies and culture.

In September of 1973 a friend had just returned from attending a summer-long oceanography course in Jamaica. Apart from the usual tales of sun, sand, and coral-laden turquoise seas, he spoke about a new type of music he

had heard and of an elderly, “pot-smoking” gentleman he met during his many forays throughout the island. My curiosity aroused, I pressed him for further details. About the music all he could say was that it sounded like a fusion of rock, soul, and calypso underscored by a heavy syncopated bass guitar line and drums; as for the “stoned-out” old man, he apparently belonged to some strange Jamaican religious cult whose adherents grew their hair in long matted locks, smoked enormous quantities of *ganja* (marijuana) and worshipped the emperor of Ethiopia Haile Selassie.

Who could have imagined back in 1973 that this obscure island music and the religious, social, and political ideologies it espouses would, in only a few short years, spread far and wide and become another notable addition to the expanding repertoire of transnational popular culture. That the terms “reggae” and “Rastafari” should in so brief a span of time emerge to become almost household words throughout the Caribbean and in many parts of North America, Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Pacific is a truly remarkable occurrence – so remarkable in fact that I felt compelled to examine this phenomenon more closely in the hope of gaining a clearer understanding of just how and why this came to be.²

What is perhaps most interesting and unique about Rastafarianism is that it may represent the only contemporary socio-religious movement whose diffusion is directly linked to various mediums of transnational popular culture, most notably reggae music. The terms “reggae” and “Rasta” have become so closely linked in minds of many that they are frequently accorded the status of synonyms. And while this popular perception of the movement is by no means an accurate one – since it encompasses a great deal more than just a contemporary style of Jamaican pop music – the confusion is, nevertheless, understandable. For whereas many who have written about Rastafari claim it to have acted as a major source, inspiration, and catalyst in the creation of reggae, nearly *all* acknowledge the fact that reggae has functioned, and in many instances continues to function, as the principal medium through which people the world over have acquired their knowledge and awareness of Rastafari (the lyrics of Jamaican reggae songs having been dominated since the early 1970s by Rastafarian themes, imagery, and symbolism).³

Over the course of the last three decades this planet has witnessed the global penetration of pop music (mass-produced music created with a large, often multinational audience in mind and marketed as such by the recording industry) and the technology essential for its widespread distribution (transistor radios, portable cassette recorders, TVs, VCRs, etc.). As Roger Wallis and Krister Malm (1984:xiv) point out in their groundbreaking study on the effects of the international music industry on nations in the developing world:

The 70s have taught us that music industry technology penetrates faster than any other technological development in the history of mankind ... and has found its way into every corner of the globe. The most isolated village can get its first cassette recorder before it has running water or mains electricity.

What is more, with the recent introduction of laser, digital, microwave, satellite, and cable technologies, the rate of penetration is accelerating at unprecedented speeds.

Responsibility for the creation of this huge international pop market lies in the hands of both the manufacturers of music-related hardware and the multinational record companies and conglomerates who have created a global network of consumers. Working in tandem these two forces have contributed to the creation of transnational or nationless types of music through a process labeled "transculturation" by Wallis and Malm (1984:300-11). Briefly put, this process involves the multi-directional flow of musical influences between local music cultures and the international pop market, each feeding on and contributing to the other's development.⁴

The global expansion of transnational pop music continues at a staggering pace, and during the last two decades the popular music of Jamaica has come to play a major role in such revolutionary developments, representing one of the rare instances in which culture originally produced by and for the periphery has made a substantial impact on the center.⁵ Today reggae holds a commanding position in the global pop music scene, contributing as much as if not more than it once had borrowed.⁶ And, as we shall see below, in the vast majority of cases it has been reggae music which has functioned as the primary catalyst for spreading the religion and culture of Rastafari beyond its original island homeland.

RASTAFARI IN THE CARIBBEAN

Over the course of the last few decades the Rastafarian movement has managed to extend its reach and influence throughout the entire English-speaking Caribbean (and to a lesser extent the non-English speaking Caribbean as well), serving as a powerful social common denominator linking disparate youth across the region by simultaneously providing a vehicle whereby blacks in the diaspora can cultivate or recreate a lost African heritage and cultural identity and ideologically distance themselves from what many perceive to be the misguided and unjust societies in which they live.⁷

Local Rastafarian reggae bands are to be found on nearly every island in the Caribbean (Bilby 1985; Guilbault 1993), enabling Jamaican Rastas to successfully export their "culture of resistance" regionwide (Campbell

1987). For decades Rastafari has functioned as a corrective to the prejudices and white bias of corrupt and inefficient neocolonial Caribbean societies, and even the established Christian organizations have, after many years of indifference and hostility, been forced to recognize the important role the movement has come to play here. The Caribbean Council of Churches has even accepted the Rastafari into the Christian fold (Witvliet 1985:117).

In recent years Caribbean Rastas (particularly those outside Jamaica) have begun to put much less emphasis on African repatriation⁸ and the deification of Haile Selassie, and have instead assumed more active political, and at times even militant, roles. Examples of this can be seen in the revolutionary and anti-capitalist positions adopted by Rastas on the islands of Dominica, Antigua, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent during the past decade and a half, many of whom have been harassed, arrested, and in a number of instances even murdered for professing adherence to the faith.⁹

The fears commonly expressed by local authorities in the Caribbean about the subversive and potentially destabilizing influence of Rastafari are not wholly unfounded. In 1979 and 1981 respectively, groups of dissidents whose ranks included large contingents of Rastas made several unsuccessful attempts to take over political control of the Grenadines and Dominica.¹⁰ And in Grenada in March of 1979, more than four hundred Rastas took part in the Peoples Liberation Army's overthrow of the Eric Gairy regime, after which the island's Rasta population was reported to have been integrated into the new revolutionary society set up by Maurice Bishop. Rastas, according to Campbell (1987:162-66), went on to attain a high status in the army, enjoying unlimited freedom of religion – including the freedom to smoke ganja.

In Trinidad, Rastafari represents a powerful force among the island's lower-class population, membership in the movement cutting across both racial and ethnic lines. A substantial number of East Indians have, according to the anthropologist Ansley Hamid (1981), donned the mantle of Rastafari – growing dreadlocks, smoking ganja, and embracing an *ital* or healthy way of life. It is not uncommon to find Trinidadian calypso singers incorporating Rasta themes into their music, and in 1979 the Mighty Sparrow dedicated a song entitled "De Caribbean Man" (which won first prize at the annual Calypso Monarch Competition) to the region's Rastafarians.¹¹

As Hamid (1981) discovered while conducting research on Rastafarian communities in San Fernando, Trinidad, during the mid- to late 1970s, the spread of the movement on the island was inextricably linked to the development of local ganja networks of trade, with the revenue procured from the sale of this illicit substance being used by Trinidadian Rastas to establish legitimate businesses and agricultural enterprises, thereby promoting Rasta

ideals of self-sufficiency and independence from metropolitan centers. By 1976 the movement had become such an established presence in many lower-class neighborhoods, according to Hamid, that Rastas began to achieve a certain degree of prestige and respect as a result of their enterprise and exemplary behavior, although the media continued to link the movement to violent crime. By encouraging young people to take an active interest in the land through their establishment of small-scale agricultural projects, by promoting the use of ganja as a substitute for alcohol and other more harmful drugs, and by creating an appreciation and demand for locally manufactured goods, Rastas in Trinidad have served as a positive social force, especially among the island's poor.

It can be argued that the Rastafarian movement represents one of the most visible, potent, and progressive pan-regional cultural forces at work in the Caribbean today, one that has in a relatively short period of time proven effective in breaking down the many inter-island and inter-ethnic rivalries that have polarized this region for centuries (Campbell 1987:173).

RASTAFARI IN NORTH AMERICA

A walk through any of the West Indian neighborhoods in large urban centers like New York, Miami, Houston, or Atlanta would be sufficient to convince even the casual observer that the Rastafarian movement is alive and thriving here – as one could not help but notice the many individuals sporting dreadlocks and talking *iyaric* (Dread Talk); the colors (red, gold, black, and green) and symbols of Rastafari adorning storefronts, homes, and vehicles; and the various Rasta-owned shops selling Afrocentric clothing and ornaments and *ital* (health) food (cf. Lewis 1993:83-94). Similarly, if one were to turn on the radio at the appropriate time, he or she would no doubt hear local reggae shows which serve as conduits through which information about upcoming Rasta events and activities pass. But in spite of this visible Rastafarian presence, little serious research has yet been undertaken to assess the movement's impact in the United States. And while American media will occasionally feature reports on local Rastafarians, most only reinforce the negative images and stereotypes of the group harbored by the vast majority of the U.S. public, i.e., a heavily-armed and dangerous assortment of thugs, murderers, and drug dealers.¹²

In addition to the thriving West Indian Rasta population, there are a number of other interesting manifestations of Rastafari currently functioning in the United States, one of which is the Ethiopian Zion Coptic Church. According to Campbell (1987:115-16), this group of middle-class whites for-

merly headquartered on Star Island in Miami, represents the largest non-black Rasta formation in the country. Over the past ten to fifteen years these "Coptics" have been carrying on an international campaign to legalize cannabis while simultaneously expounding their stridently anti-communist "Rasta" philosophy, and by 1979 they managed to attract so much media attention that the popular weekly CBS television program "60 Minutes" aired a feature story on the group.

Two thousand miles northwest of Miami at the bottom of the Grand Canyon live some four hundred Havasupai Indians, many of whom have become ardent devotees of reggae (particularly the music of Bob Marley, who is a figure of veneration here for many) and the Rastafarian ethos this music conveys. On the wall of the community's only café hangs a photograph of a dreadlocked Rasta. Bearing the inscription "I Love Supai Rastafarians," it is personally signed by Wailer Tyrone Downie who, fascinated by the existence of this unusual Rasta group, flew into the Canyon by helicopter in 1982 to perform a free concert.¹³

Not only do the Havasupai listen to reggae, but some even play it as well. Many also smoke ganja¹⁴ and strongly identify with the anti-Babylon (anti-Western) sentiments expressed in the lyrics of numerous Jamaican reggae songs (Trepper 1984). In the words of Arnold Shaw (1986:265), Director of the Popular Music Research Center at the University of Nevada,

Unquestionably, the initial appeal of reggae to the Havasupai was its sound and beat. But the Indians also found parallels between their oppressive and deprived lives and those of the black Jamaicans among whom Rastafarianism developed as a socio-political religion.

The Havasupai claim that reggae music was first introduced into their community by three Indians from California who brought with them a large collection of Bob Marley cassettes. Over the years enthusiasm for the music grew among the younger members of the tribe to the point where in the early 1980s reggae and Rasta culture came to play a major role in Havasupai life (Trepper 1984:12-15).

The Havasupai's attraction to Rastafari has a number of historical antecedents in the various revitalization movements that developed among Native American groups over the course of the last hundred years, most notable among these being the Peyote Cult which arose around the turn of the century both in reaction to and as a defense against the continuing encroachment of European settlers and the alien values they imposed on native populations. Similar to the Rastafari, this cult's adherents relied heavily upon indigenous interpretations of the Old Testament, preached a form of pan-Indianism (where Rastas preach pan-Africanism), prohibited

the use of alcohol, and held a drug (peyote) to be the only remedy for the social, physical, and psychological ills introduced into their societies by the white man (La Barre 1969; Lanternari 1963).¹⁵

Up north in Canada, the Rastafarian movement grew slowly during the 1960s and 1970s among the large West Indian population in Toronto (estimated at 200,000), frequently coming under attack by police and immigration officials who viewed it as a "bizarre, criminal, and violent-prone cult" (Campbell 1987:180-81). As is the case in the United States, significant research has yet to be undertaken on the Rastafarian movement here, but given the massive popularity of reggae in places like Toronto, and with local black musicians using this music as a medium for promoting Rastafarian culture,¹⁶ interest in the movement among West Indians in Canada no doubt continues to be substantial.

RASTAFARI IN EUROPE

The Rastafarian movement experienced substantial growth in the European metropolitan centers of London, Birmingham, Paris, and Amsterdam during the mid- to late 1970s, as immigrants from the Caribbean and Africa faced a burgeoning urban crisis (crime, drug abuse, inflation, and unemployment) and the growing specter of racism. Under such adverse conditions and circumstances, Rastas tended to view themselves as a "minority elite," attaching a positive value to a racial and cultural identity that had up till then been denigrated and suppressed by the dominant white European society (Cashmore 1977:383; Campbell 1987:184-86).¹⁷

In England, the Rastafarian movement first surfaced among inner-city West Indian youth during the mid-1950s and continued to increase in numbers throughout the 1960s and 1970s as blacks found most avenues for economic mobility and social integration closed to them. After 1975, membership in the movement increased dramatically – due in large part to the growing influence and popularity of reggae music – and by 1984 an estimated 25,000 young blacks in Britain professed adherence to Rastafari.¹⁸

It comes as no surprise to discover that reggae music made its initial impact outside the Caribbean among Britain's large West Indian community. Between the years 1955 and 1962, close to 200,000 Jamaicans left their island homes and emigrated to the United Kingdom (Davis 1982:156), where along with their dreams and meager belongings they brought a taste for Jamaican music. The first independent record labels emerged in London in the 1960s to cater to the growing demand for authentic "island sounds."

By the early 1970s, reggae music could be heard exploding from sound

systems, discos, and record shops throughout the West Indian neighborhoods of London and Birmingham. In addition to serving as a much needed source of entertainment, the music also provided disaffected black youth with an alternative cultural outlet and sense of identity. By the middle of the decade a new generation of mostly British-born West Indian reggae artists emerged on the scene, many of whom adopted the Rastafarian beliefs, practices, and lifestyles of their Jamaican counterparts, and it was not long before these artists and groups began expressing their new-found Rasta identities through their own distinctive brand of British reggae – the Anglo-Jamaican groups Aswad, Steel Pulse, and Misty in Roots being among the earliest and most popular (Chambers 1985; Hebdige 1987).

Although the Rastafarian movement in England was for years heavily influenced by the mystical and religious ideology that coalesced around the divinity of Haile Selassie and repatriation to Africa, lately more and more Rastas have begun to take an active part in trying to improve life within their own communities and, like their Caribbean counterparts, have begun to adopt a more political and even militant stance. During the 1980s, Rastas helped to establish many urban-based community centers and youth programs throughout the country, and in 1981 large numbers played a role in the riots that exploded in England's black ghettos in response to police harassment and the regressive and racist policies of the Thatcher government (Clarke 1986:59, 85; Campbell 1987:188, 206).

The Rastafarian movement also managed to attract a sizeable number of working-class white British youth who, along with their West Indian counterparts, found their hopes for a productive life thwarted by the many social and economic barriers placed in their path (Cashmore 1981:178, 181). Moreover, small numbers of middle- and upper-class Britains have within past years donned the mantle of Rastafari in symbolic defiance against the privileged lifestyles afforded them and their elders in socially stratified, class-conscious English society.¹⁹

In general, the position of Rastas vis-à-vis mainstream British society has remained somewhat ambiguous. Although in 1982 the Roman Catholic Church's Commission for Racial Justice urged the British government to accept Rasta as both a valid (though non-Christian) faith and a "legitimate cultural form,"²⁰ and Lord Scarman (PC, OBE, and Lord of Appeal), in his report on the Brixton riots of 1981, expressed the opinion that "the Rastafarians, their faith, and their aspirations, deserve more understanding and more sympathy than they get from the British people" (cited in Clarke 1986:96), the media and police have continued to issue reports and directives projecting Rastas as violent criminals and psychopathic deviants.²¹ But regardless of the negative ways in which the movement is perceived by the

British media and public, it continues to represent a dominant cultural force within the nation's West Indian communities.

Over on the Continent, since the early 1980s significant numbers of young Surinamese in the Netherlands have adopted the beliefs, practices, music, and dress of Rastafarians in an attempt to forge a distinct "black" identity for themselves in their alien (predominantly white) European home (Sanson 1984). As Peter Buiks (cited in Cashmore 1984:70) observes:

Many of these immigrants came to Holland with high expectations about our country as a welfare paradise to find themselves within a short time deprived of adequate housing, employment, and education. I expect that for some of these immigrants, their black skin gets a special meaning in these conditions. I have the impression that the attractiveness of the Rastafarian movement is that it offers an adequate frame of reference for a more satisfying interpretation of their situation, identity, and future. It is also attractive to them as a basis for renewed self-confidence, and as a vehicle for cultural emancipation.

During two months spent in Amsterdam in the summer of 1990, I came into contact with a fairly large contingent of Rastas, the majority Surinamese immigrants or first generation Dutch-born Surinamese who claimed to have been initially attracted to the movement through their prior exposure to reggae music.²² Interestingly enough, this city also harbors the largest population of white Rastafarians I have yet come across, a situation perhaps best accounted for by the semi-legal status afforded marijuana by the Dutch authorities and the vibrant counterculture that continues to flourish here.²³

In France, the only other nation in Europe known to harbor a fairly sizeable Rastafarian population, Rastas from French-speaking West African countries like Senegal, Mali, and the Ivory Coast have managed to incorporate into their worldviews additional anticolonial elements picked up through their contacts with other Africans living in large urban centers like Paris and Bordeaux; individuals who, like themselves, are struggling to find some meaning and direction outside the narrow confines of Francophile culture (Clarke 1986:98).

RASTAFARI IN AFRICA

Spurred on in part by the many local musicians who have taken on the appearance of Rastafarians, and to a lesser extent a serious commitment to the faith, and have incorporated Rasta/reggae-inspired influences into their music, a relatively small though conspicuous number of urban African youth have over the course of the last decade and a half begun to profess adherence to Rastafari.

In Ethiopia, Jamaican Rastas began settling in the early 1970s on land set aside by the emperor Haile Selassie for blacks in the New World seeking repatriation to Africa. Throughout the years these Rastas have subsisted mainly by growing their own food as well as ganja, and selling locally manufactured handicrafts. The former Marxist government showed a surprising degree of tolerance towards these Jamaicans, given their veneration of Haile Selassie. The Jamaicans managed to maintain relatively good relations with both the local authorities and the public prior to the overthrow of the Mengistu regime in 1991 (although tensions did flare-up periodically between local farmers and the group over issues centering around land-rights and the latter's deification of Haile Selassie). The presence of Jamaican Rastas in Ethiopia appears to have stimulated some interest in Rastafari among a small contingent of urban-based youth, as evidenced perhaps by the numerous reggae bands that surfaced in the capital Addis Ababa during the early to mid-1980s.²⁴

In Zimbabwe, the impact of Bob Marley's appearance at the nation's first Independence Day celebration held in April of 1980, and the subsequent appearances by Jimmy Cliff and the Anglo-Jamaican reggae groups Aswad and Misty in Roots, served not only to popularize reggae music here but proved instrumental in promoting the culture of Rastafari as well. By the mid-1980s, as Fred Zindi (1981:21) reports, reggae had become such an integral part of the urban pop music scene – with reggae bands and sound systems all the rage in the capital Harare and the music being played frequently on Zimbabwe's two leading radio stations – that one might have easily mistaken it for a local pop music genre. Moreover, during this period many young Zimbabweans began sporting dreadlocks, smoking ganja, speaking iyaric, and wearing "Rasta colors." In addition to emulating the outward appearance and practices of Jamaican reggae artists, a handful also frequently read the Bible and other Rasta-related literature (e.g., books on Marcus Garvey) and held a firm belief in the divinity of Haile Selassie.²⁵

Reggae (and Rasta culture) has for decades enjoyed considerable popularity in South Africa, where interest in this music and the Rastafarian ethos it projects frequently takes on heavy political overtones. For instance, at the conclusion of a "Free Peoples' Concert" held in Johannesburg in 1983, two members of a local reggae band were arrested by police and sentenced to four years in prison for calling for the release of Nelson Mandela (Street 1986:22), and Peter Tosh's album *Equal Rights* was at one point banned by the South African government for its "subversive" messages (Grass 1984:29). Lucky Dube – a Rastafarian who also happens to be one of the most successful, innovative, and internationally renowned African reggae artists to emerge on the continent in recent years – hails from South

Africa, where his first album *Slave* was a massive hit with sales totalling over 300,000 copies, breaking a record previously held by a local mbaqanga group, the Soul Brothers (Gardner 1991:29). Unfortunately, there is no current information available on Rastas in post-apartheid South Africa.

As the journalist and long-time chronicler of the African pop music scene Billy Bergman (1985:24) observed back in the mid-1980s, throughout the African continent both "reggae and the Rasta mystique remain a strong current in the urban youth culture," and this assessment by and large continues to hold true for much of West Africa today – particularly in the Anglophone nations of Ghana, Gambia, Sierra Leone, and Nigeria (Savishinsky 1994). In Ghana, for example, two distinct Rastafarian communities are presently functioning: one is located in the capital Accra and affiliated with the Ethiopian World Federation (the EWF) and the other, located just a few miles up the coast in Labadi, is connected to the Jamaican-based Twelve Tribes of Israel. The majority of Ghanaian Rastas, however, are not affiliated with any organized community or group and instead move within a general circle which includes independent Rastas, the Twelve Tribes membership, and those aligned with the EWF, all of whom come together on various occasions (such as reggae concerts, national festivals and celebrations, and weekends at Labadi Beach) to listen and dance to reggae, reason, smoke ganja, read and discuss the Bible, and express their pan-Africanist leanings.

Throughout West Africa, reggae is a major force in the urban pop music scenes of both Anglophone and Francophone nations, where one finds a profusion of cassettes by Jamaican, Anglo-Jamaican, and African reggae artists for sale in record shops and market stalls in every major city and most large towns. The music is also regularly heard on local radio stations, in taxis, discos, on street corners, and almost everywhere young people congregate. Furthermore, a large percentage of West African pop musicians have either played reggae music at one point in their careers or utilized reggae rhythms and/or Rasta-inspired lyrics in their songs (Savishinsky 1994).

In addition to being an integral part of the urban musical landscape, reggae music has, for the past fifteen years or so, also functioned as the principle medium for the diffusion of Rastafarian religion and culture in West Africa. Eighty percent of the Rastas I interviewed in Ghana and 66 percent of those in Senegal – where a small Rastafarian community has been functioning for over a decade on the island of Gorée – admitted that their initial interest in Rastafari came about as a direct result of their prior exposure to reggae. And in the vast majority of cases it was the music of Bob Marley that made the most intense and lasting impression, although the music of West

African reggae artists like Alpha Blondy, Evi-Edna Ogholi, and Majek Fashek has in recent years exercised a considerable influence here as well (Savishinsky 1994).

The impact of Bob Marley – both his music and media-generated image – on young people in West Africa in general, and West African Rastas in particular, cannot be understated. Throughout much of the region (and from what I can gather the continent as a whole), his songs can be heard blasting out of boom boxes and stereo systems everywhere; his cassettes are offered for sale in urban and even rural marketplaces; and his dreadlocked profile can be seen staring out from t-shirts and wall posters in market stalls, homes, and restaurants. Along with Muhammad Ali, James Brown, and Michael Jackson, Marley ranks among the most popular and influential pan-African heroes of our time – being widely known, listened to, admired and even idolized by young people everywhere. One would be hard pressed to find an urban-based African youth who is not familiar with this man and his music, and for many Africans the name Bob Marley is synonymous with both reggae music and Rastafarianism (Savishinsky 1994).

In many parts of West Africa the use of and trade in cannabis is, along with reggae music, closely associated both in actual fact and public perceptions with the culture of Rastafari. In Ghana, for example, the smoking of cannabis (often in the context of extended “reasoning sessions”) is a common practice among Rastafarians, and people will often refer to any young man seen hanging out on the street smoking or peddling “wee” (a local Ghanaian term for cannabis) as “Rasta.” And while few Ghanaians would openly admit that their involvement with Rastafari was influenced by their prior or parallel involvement with this illicit substance, my research shows that in a substantial number of cases initial entry into the Ghanaian Rasta scene came about as a direct result of an individual’s predilection for smoking cannabis and/or his dealings with Anglo-Jamaican or West African Rasta cannabis peddlers.

Apart from the fact that Rastafarian sentiment and ideology is steeped in themes relating directly to Africa and African repatriation and that for years reggae artists have championed the cause of African liberation movements in their music (Bob Marley’s song “Zimbabwe” and Peter Tosh’s “Apartheid,” to cite but two examples), the attraction of African youth to Rastafari may also be viewed as a direct outgrowth of their desire to participate in a contemporary international movement – to be a part of the “global scene” as it were (the appropriation of Rastafarian religion and culture being one of the various strategies employed by West Africans wishing to establish such global connections). Evidence for this can be gleaned from the fact that throughout the region the term “Rasta” is often used by non-

Rastas when referring to rebellious Western-oriented youth. Also, West African Rastas generally tend to be more outward-looking and globally-orientated than their non-Rasta contemporaries.

In certain respects this embodies a fundamental contradiction wherein alienated urban youth who are basically out of touch with many aspects of traditional African culture turn for a sense of meaning and identity to an ostensibly anti-Western, anti-neocolonial movement that places considerable emphasis on the recreation of or return to a more authentic "traditional" way of life, but which in fact rejects many aspects of indigenous African belief and practice and in its place utilizes forms of religion (Judeo-Christianity) and popular expression (transnational pop music) closely linked to the alien culture of the "oppressors" (the West or "Babylon"). Subsequently, for many West African youth involvement and identification with Rastafari is fraught with contradictions, ambivalence, and mixed allegiances.²⁶

Although the total Rastafarian population in West Africa is relatively small, the impact of the movement and its attendant forms of cultural expression on urban-based youth is significant. To cite one illustration of this: in Ghana in 1989 a large reggae concert was organized at Labadi Beach as part of the nation's Independence Day celebrations. Sponsored by the government-run Ghana Tourist Board and billed as a dawn to dusk "Reggae Sunsplash Beach Festival," this afternoon event, which featured three local reggae groups as well as a massive sound system manned by local DJs, drew a large and appreciative crowd numbering in the thousands, most of whom were not Rastafarians. In addition, another concert sponsored by the Ghanaian Twelve Tribes' chapter and billed as a "Special Reggae Festival for Rastafarians" was held in Accra at the Orion Cinema that very same evening (Savishinsky 1994).

As elsewhere, Rastafarianism in Africa appears to have a number of historical parallels and antecedents. The first revolts against European imperialism and colonization on the continent took the form of religious movements aimed at countering the disruptive effects of the white man on traditional African society. As Terence Ranger (1986:51) points out, these formations were particularly well suited for such a purpose since they could draw on the ambiguous power inherent in religious myth, ritual, and symbolism and could therefore "mean many things at once and contain many potentialities." Like Rastafarianism, many of these twentieth-century African formations (e.g., the Kimbangu and Orunmila movements; the Mvungi, Tonsi, and Kitawala cults; and the Zionist Churches of South Africa) were millenarian in nature and represented an Afro-Christian synthesis wherein ideas, images, themes, and terminology taken from the Old and New Testa-

ments were used to express their membership's desire for religious autonomy, political emancipation, and deliverance from poverty and oppression. As is also the case among the Rastafari, many of these groups and their leadership expressed a belief in a black God; prophesied the coming of a black Messiah who would usher in the Kingdom of God and a Golden age of prosperity free from foreign domination; identified their group (and sometimes the African race in general) with the Biblical Hebrews; and finally were highly critical of European civilization and the destructive elements (alcoholism, moral corruption, the alienation of land, etc.) introduced into their societies by the white man.²⁷

RASTAFARI IN THE PACIFIC

During the last decade and a half the Rastafarian movement has also become a visible presence throughout much of the Pacific. In October of 1981, the *Melbourne Age* published a report about a Rasta "survival center" set up in Australia to cater to the needs of the many Aborigines who had joined the movement during the late 1970s and early 1980s.²⁸ And while indigenous Rasta communities can be found on many islands throughout the region – Samoa, Panape, Tonga, and Fiji, for example²⁹ – the largest contingent of Rastas are those in New Zealand.

Bill Hawkeswood, a New Zealand anthropologist who in the early 1980s conducted research on Rastafarian communities in the capital Auckland, found the movement there to be extremely diverse as regards ethnicity (incorporating whites as well as blacks³⁰ from many ethnic groups – the largest proportion being Maori and Samoan) and socio-economic status (including among its ranks office and factory workers, truck drivers, students, artists, and unemployed – the latter accounting for over 50 percent of the total Rastafarian population). As Hawkeswood discovered, New Zealand Rastas generally participate in a wide range of practices typically associated with Jamaican Rastafarianism – e.g. sporting dreadlocks, smoking ganja, holding reasoning sessions in "iyaric," listening to and playing reggae music, adopting Rasta names, and reading and discussing the Bible and the speeches of Marcus Garvey and Haile Selassie (Hawkeswood 1983:99-109).

Spurred on in large part by the international success of Bob Marley, Rastafarianism first took hold in Auckland in the mid-1970s, and to this day reggae music represents the focal point around which the movement revolves. Listening to reggae may be likened to a form of homework for aspiring Rastas here, as most obtain the greatest degree of knowledge about the movement through their contacts with this music and the Rasta-based

messages it espouses. As one of Hawkeswood's (1983:114) informants observed:

Most of the street kids got into Rasta through the music. And reggae music has a message. This message is what the knowledge is. So once they get into the music, the message is reaching them. I 'spose that's how we all got into it. We heard about Ras Tafari, Marcus Garvey, and all these things in the songs.

Adherence to Rastafari appears to provide black New Zealanders with a concrete and unambiguous cultural identity, as many find it difficult accepting the British-based "New Zealander" identity, and being cut off from their "roots," find it equally difficult to maintain their own distinctive ethnic characters.³¹ Caught somewhere in between these two inviable alternatives, young blacks in Auckland have over the years been turning to Rasta in substantial numbers, utilizing the symbolism of the movement and the social relationships obtained therein to construct and sustain a more satisfying self-image and identity (Hawkeswood 1983:179).

As typifies the movement in its other global incarnations, Rasta groups in New Zealand are for the most part loosely organized, acephalous units – information about Rasta-related activities and events (reggae concerts, meetings, gossip, etc.) being disseminated via an informal network (the "Rastavine") which functions primarily through word of mouth (Hawkeswood 1983:92-93).

Gaining knowledge about Jamaican history and current events is considered an essential duty incumbent upon every New Zealand Rasta, as most are wont to identify their own situation and plight as oppressed blacks with that of lower-class Jamaicans. Many also view the Africans' transportation to and exile in the New World as analogous to what befell their own forefathers who, after being seduced by promises of high wages and a "better life," abandoned their homes, families, and traditional ways of life to settle in an alien, European-dominated society (Hawkeswood 1983:135-36).

As is so typical of Rastas everywhere, adherents in New Zealand face strong opposition to their beliefs and practices from the media, the police, and the general public. Although typically branded as dope-smoking, lazy, and violent "cultists," a great many are in fact involved in activities aimed at improving the quality of life among the nation's poor. For example, one group of Rastas established a youth center in Auckland that catered to the needs of young men belonging to local street gangs, many of whom subsequently abandoned their criminal and antisocial lifestyles and joined the local Rasta community (Hawkeswood 1983:8, 84, 182).

Rastas here often cite the more universalist aspects of the movement – its anti-colonial and anti-imperialist stance, espousal of a return to a more nat-

ural and traditional way of life, and condemnation of the Christian Church and Western civilization – as justification for their adoption of the faith. Many also defend the emphasis they and Rastas everywhere place on the study of African history and culture by explaining that since mankind evolved on the African continent, all humans, regardless of race and ethnicity, can ultimately trace their ancestry back to Africa. And while some have taken this argument a step further by insisting that the only real solution to their present predicament is African repatriation, the majority have instead chosen to focus on more practical goals such as working to change the social, economic, and political structure of New Zealand society and to gain a greater knowledge and understanding of their own indigenous traditions and culture (Hawkeswood 1983:114-29).

CONCLUSION

It is my belief that the global appeal and spread of the Jamaican Rastafarian movement can be linked to a number of elements or factors. The first is the pre-eminent position the Bible holds in Rastafarian ritual and ideology. Second, the stress Rastas place on healthy, natural living and their subsequent rejection of Western artificiality in the realms of food, medicine, social relationships, etc. Third, Rastas' outspoken condemnation of the hypocrisy, corruption, injustice, and white biases inherent in colonial and neo-colonial societies and institutions. Fourth, Rastas' exhortation to the colonized and subjugated peoples of the world to take pride in their ancestral heritage and culture and to look to their own indigenous traditions for guidance and support. Fifth, the amorphous and decentralized nature of the movement, which gives adherents everywhere the freedom and flexibility to select and interpret specific aspects of Rastafarian religion and culture in a way that is best suited to their own needs and situations. And finally, but perhaps most importantly, the powerful links that exist between the movement and various aspects of contemporary transnational popular culture – namely music, drugs, and fashion.

For Rastafarians everywhere, listening, playing, and dancing to reggae music represent essential components in both religious worship and personal/collective expression. And as detailed above, reggae music has over the past two decades managed to attract a sizeable following among both black and white youth throughout the developed and the developing world. What is more, reggae music has served and in many instances continues to serve as the principal conduit through which the religious, social and political messages espoused by Jamaican Rastafarians have reached out to and affected the lives of thousands of young people worldwide.

Likewise, ganja, both its trade and the rituals associated with its use, while perhaps playing only a secondary role to reggae music, has also contributed significantly to the global spread of the movement, functioning as a mechanism for personal spiritual transcendence and a highly visible symbol of Rastafarian defiance to the laws and institutions of "Babylon." Moreover, the smoking of cannabis provides an important rallying point, social activity, and common denominator around which Rastas from diverse groups and backgrounds can unite, distinguishing those who belong or might someday belong from those who will forever remain outsiders – the smoking of cannabis being viewed by the vast majority of Rastas everywhere as one of the most essential elements of religious expression and shared group identity.

That drugs, music, fashion, and socio-political protest constituted the major features of first the sixties counterculture movement in the United States and later the "punk" phenomenon in England helps in part to explain the appeal generated by reggae music and Rastafarianism among young people in Europe and North America a short time thereafter. The emergence of Rastafari on the global scene also followed closely on the heels of the Black Power movement – both representing important manifestations of black pride and self-assertion – and during the mid- to late 1970s a substantial number of young disaffected blacks in the Caribbean, Canada, and Great Britain turned from this movement to Rastafari (Hamid 1981:204; Campbell 1987:175-79).

The ideologies and practices of the Rastafari are, as detailed above, not new to many of the societies in which the movement has gained a following, but to the contrary represent a continuation of earlier historical traditions and processes rooted in anti-colonial struggle and the desire on the part of indigenous and oppressed peoples to improve their economic and social positions and to preserve a culture and way of life that has suffered and continues to suffer progressive erosion in the face of Western economic, political, and cultural domination. That these historical legacies are in no small part responsible for the interest Rastafarianism has generated among thousands of young people in the Caribbean, the Pacific, and Africa – as well as among Native American Indians in the United States – is beyond doubt.

As the Rastafarian movement continues to grow and undergo modifications – such as a decline in the emphasis placed on African repatriation and the worship of Haile Selassie – and as it spreads, via transnational popular culture, the mass media and the electronic communications industry beyond the confines of its original homeland, it faces the ongoing challenge of becoming a significant contributor to the rapidly expanding "global culture." But whether or not the movement will prove potent and flexible

enough to meet such a challenge, one thing remains certain, the view beyond Jamaica is, to quote Derek Bishton (1986:2), "increasingly an international one."

NOTES

1. See, for example, Wallerstein 1979, Mattelart 1983, Schiller 1989, Hannerz 1992, and Wriston 1992.
2. In 1988-89 I conducted field work on the spread of the Rastafarian movement in Ghana and Senegambia, and much of the material contained in this article is adapted from the dissertation that followed from this research (which included a lengthy chapter on the global diffusion of reggae and Rastafari) (see Savishinsky 1993).
3. In recent years "dancehall music," a subgenre of reggae with minimal connections to Rastafarianism, has become increasingly popular in Jamaica and among West Indians in Britain and North America. Similar in form to African-American rap and hip hop music, a typical dancehall tune is structured around a DJ "rapping" (often in a heavy Jamaican patois) over a computer generated reggae-based rhythm track, with little expression given in the song texts to either religious, social, or political themes (see the *New York Times* June 21, 1992, p. 23). And with the recent upsurge in popularity of dancehall and the subsequent decline of other forms of reggae, it appears as if the links that once bound Jamaican popular music to the culture of Rastafari have finally begun to erode (at least throughout much of the Caribbean and among West Indians in England, the United States, and Canada).
4. While it may be true, as Hannerz (1987) suggests, that such modern developments have provided people the world over with access to a greater diversity of music than they ever had before (and in the process has led to the "creolization" of global pop music and the subsequent creation of new syncretic, indigenized forms of popular expression), some (cf. Hamelink 1983) voice fear that the longterm effects of transculturation may lead to the eventual formation of a homogenized global music culture and the loss of much of the world's stock of distinctive, local musical styles.
5. Hannerz (1992:265) argues that the interplay between center and periphery which develops out of such "multidimensional cultural encounters" creates a greater affinity between the two, resulting in the heightened ability of the latter to "talk back" to the former. And as the periphery increasingly makes use of the same organizational forms and technology as the center, its new cultural products become more attractive to the global market – hence the popular music of the Third World becomes "World Music."
6. In the 1950s and 1960s the playlists of Jamaica's single radio station were almost identical to those of pop music stations in major U.S. cities (Clarke 1980:62), and even as recently as 1979, 80 percent of all the music played on Jamaican radio was foreign in origin (Link 1979:10). Consequently, reggae was influenced to a large extent by American rock, soul, rhythm & blues, and gospel music (for a detailed description and analysis of the origins and development of reggae in Jamaica see Clarke 1980 and Nagashima 1984).
7. Campbell 1980:19-20, 1987:153-75; Forsythe 1980:62; Semaj 1980:22; Hamid 1981:6-7.
8. As a spokesman for the movement in St. Lucia asserted: "Unlike Jamaican Rastas, the St. Lucian Rasta does not want repatriation to Africa. Most believe that wherever they are, Africa is." (cited in Campbell 1987:160).

9. On the island of Dominica in the mid-1980s, an individual found wearing his or her hair in dreadlocks risked being sentenced to up to eighteen months in jail, and in Guyana the government was so worried about the potential Rasta had for mobilizing large segments of the population that it banned reggae music from the nation's airwaves in July of 1980. (see Campbell 1987:159, 171).

10. *New York Times*, September 12, 1979, p. 21 and July 10, 1981, p. 20.

11. Interestingly enough, a major conflict arose between Afro- and Indo-Trinidadians (see Klass 1991:66) over the Afrocentric nature of the song's lyrics and the exclusion of the latter group from many of its most prominent messages – the controversy apparently focusing on the following lines:

Dem is one race – De Caribbean Man
 From de same place – De Caribbean Man
 That make the same trip – De Caribbean Man
 On the same ship – De Caribbean Man

12. See, for example, "Two Portraits of Rastafarians: A Sect of Violence or Righteousness," *New York Times*, June 21, 1977, p. 35; "Gang Arrests Dismay Jamaicans: Mainstream Community Fears Image after Police Crackdown," *USA Today*, October 14, 1988, p. A3; "Film Insults Faith, Say Rastafarian Protesters," *Los Angeles Times*, October 23, 1990, p. B3; Lewis (1993:96-98).

13. *The Arizona Republic*, October 31, 1982, pp. 139-54.

14. According to Tom Nicas, a public school teacher in nearby Peach Springs, by the time Havasupai children reach the age of six they can weave a basket and roll a spliff (a cannabis cigarette) with equal dexterity (cited in Trepper 1984).

15. Interestingly enough, as is also the case with ganja among Rastafarians, all biblical references to the word "herb" were interpreted by cult members as referring to "peyote," which they viewed as a holy sacrament equivalent to the bread and wine of the Christian Eucharist (Lanternari 1963).

16. According to *BillBoard Magazine* of January 26, 1980, p. 63, Toronto was one of the leading centers for Reggae in North America. See also Burman 1985:19 and *Canadian Composer* 6, 1980, pp. 4-16.

17. Such "cultural denigration" is painfully evident in the following passage taken from a history textbook once widely used in English schools: "To the conquest of nature through knowledge, the contributions made by Asiatics have been negligible and by Africans (Egyptians included) non-existent" (cited in Campbell 1987:185).

18. Clarke 1986:53-55; Campbell 1987:186; *Christianity Today*, September 21, 1984, p. 13.

19. This situation was brought to public attention when an article by the Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa appeared in the *New York Times Magazine* February 16, 1986 describing his sixteen year-old son's conversion to Rastafarianism: The boy being one of among a dozen or so pupils at an elite English boarding school who grew dreadlocks and practiced a strict adherence to orthodox Rastafarian beliefs and practices.

20. *London Times*, January 19, 1982, p. 2d.

21. Cashmore 1981:177; Campbell 1987:189; "Fighting Street-Fighting Men," *London Times*, August 1, 1992, Saturday Review Section, pp. 12-16.

22. Reggae has enjoyed sporadic though at times intense success in Western Europe during the past fifteen years, spearheaded by Bob Marley's rise to international stardom in the mid-1970s. In the late 1970s, for example, Marley's album *Exodus* made it to the top of the

charts in Germany, and in 1980 a Toronto-based reggae duo sold over 100,000 copies of their single "Hop, Skip, and Jump" in Belgium and Holland alone (*BillBoard* January 26, 1980; *Canadian Composer*, 6, 1980). Jamaican reggae artists who toured Europe drew large and enthusiastic crowds; during the 1970s, Peter Tosh played to packed houses in Holland, Italy, France, Sweden, Switzerland, and Norway (*BillBoard* September 8, 1979), and throughout their careers both Bob Marley and Jimmy Cliff experienced little difficulty in selling out stadium-sized venues throughout the continent (Davis 1982:90; *Rolling Stone* June 8, 1981).

23. "Letter from Amsterdam, Where the Sixties Keep on Toking," *Business Week*, April 25, 1994, p. 26A.

24. Bishton 1986:40-41; Campbell 1987:222-29; *The Daily Gleaner*, October 12, 1976, p. 4; *New Zealand Evening Post*, February 22, 1984, p. 13. To my knowledge nothing has been written about recent events in Ethiopia as they relate to the local Rastafarian population there.

25. With the exception of a relatively small number of orthodox Rastas, Africans tend to downplay the importance of Haile Selassie, many refusing to accept the legitimacy of his divine status. The following statement by the Ivorian reggae star Alpha Blondy – who like many an African reggae artist is a self-proclaimed Rasta and ardent pan-Africanist – may best express the attitudes held by the majority of African Rastas towards this former Ethiopian monarch: "I, as an African Rasta, do not consider Selassie as being a living god. I consider him to be a symbol with a biblical background, like King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba as his ancestors. I believe in that. And I believe that he was the African who built the O.A.U. [Organization of African Unity], the first African consciousness of unity above political ideology and tribal consideration" (cited in Davis 1988:35).

26. Such contradictions and ambivalence are also apparent among Jamaican Rastas, the vast majority of whom prefer to distance themselves from those aspects of Jamaican religious experience most closely linked to indigenous African beliefs and practices (cf. Bilby & Leib 1986:23; Bilby 1993:35).

27. Sundkler 1961; Lanternari 1963; Baeta 1968; Bond, Johnson & Walker 1979; Jules-Rosette 1979; Fields 1985.

28. Cited in the *New Zealand Listener*, January 17, 1981, pp. 18-19.

29. Bill Hawkeswood, personal communication.

30. The label "black" in New Zealand is commonly applied to all persons of non-European descent such as Polynesians, Samoans, Tongans, Fijians, Maori, Niueans, Indians, and Chinese (Hawkeswood 1983:171).

31. In the past a number of native socio-religious movements emerged in New Zealand in direct response to the presence of Europeans, movements which share a host of features in common with the Rastafari. For example, the Hau-Hau, a group which arose among the Maori in the early part of the nineteenth century, called for the expulsion of all whites from the island and the restoration of ancestral beliefs and practices. Like Rastafarians, the Hau-Hau spoke of the imminent destruction of the world followed by a Golden Age free from European domination and exhibited a strong affinity for the Old Testament and ancient Jewish history and culture, believing themselves to be descendants of the tribe of Judah and as such God's Chosen People (Lanternari 1963:248-55).

REFERENCES

- BAETA, C.G. (ed.), 1968. *Christianity in Tropical Africa*. London: Oxford University Press.
- BERGMAN, BILLY, 1985. *Goodtime Kings: Emerging African Pop*. New York: Quill.
- BILBY, KENNETH, 1985. The Caribbean As A Musical Region. In Sidney Mintz & Sally Price (eds.), *Caribbean Contours*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. pp. 181-218.
- , 1993. The Strange Career of "Obeah": Defining Magical Power in the West Indies. Unpublished paper, Institute of Global Studies in Culture, Power & History, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.
- BILBY, KENNETH & ELLIOTT LEIB, 1986. Kumina, the Howellite Church and the Emergence of Rastafarian Traditional Music in Jamaica. *Jamaica Journal* 19(3):22-28.
- BISHTON, DEREK, 1986. *Black Heart Man: A Journey into Rasta*. London: Chatto & Windus.
- BOND, GEORGE, WALTON JOHNSON & SHEILA S. WALKER (eds.), 1979. *African Christianity: Patterns of Religious Continuity*. New York: Academic Press.
- BURMAN, TERRY, 1985. Irie! A Shout of Joy for Canadian Reggae. *The Music Scene* 341:12.
- CAMPBELL, HORACE, 1980. Rastafari: Culture of Resistance. *Race and Class* 22(1):1-22.
- , 1987. *Rasta and Resistance*. New Jersey: African World Press.
- CASHMORE, ERNEST ELLIS, 1981. After the Rastas. *New Community*:173-81.
- , 1984. *The Rastafarians*. London: Minority Rights Group.
- CHAMBERS, IAIN, 1985. *Urban Rhythms: Pop Music and Popular Culture*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- CLARKE, PETER B., 1986. *Black Paradise: The Rastafarian Movement*. Wellingborough: The Aquarian Press.
- DAVIS, STEPHEN, 1982. *Reggae International*. New York: Rogner & Bernhard.
- , 1988. Alpha Blondy: Africa's Reggae Superstar. *The Reggae and African Beat* 7(1): 32-35.
- FIELDS, KAREN E., 1985. *Revival and Rebellion in Colonial Central Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- FORSYTHE, DENNIS, 1980. West Indian Culture through the Prism of Rastafarianism. *Caribbean Quarterly* 26(4):62-81.
- GARDNER, JIM, 1991. Lucky Dube: Ready for Reggae. *The Beat* 10(1):29-33.
- GRASS, RANDALL F., 1984. Reggae in the Promised Land. *The Village Voice* 29:62.
- GUILBAULT, JOCELYNE, 1993. *Zouk: World Music in the West Indies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- HAMELINK, CEES T., 1983. *Cultural Autonomy in Global Communication*. New York: Longman.
- HAMID, ANSLEY, 1981. A Pre-Capitalist Mode of Production: Ganja and the Rastafarians in San Fernando, Trinidad. Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, New York.
- HANNERZ, ULF, 1987. The World in Creolization. *Africa* 57:546-59.

- . 1992. *Cultural Complexity. Studies in the Social Organization of Meaning*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- HAWKESWOOD, WILLIAM G., 1983. I'N'I Ras Tafari: Identity and the Rasta Movement in Auckland. M.A. Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland.
- HEBDIGE, DICK, 1976. Reggae, Roots, and Rudies. In Stuart Hall & Tony Jefferson (eds.), *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*. London: Hutchinson.
- . 1987. *Cut 'N' Mix: Culture, Identity, and Caribbean Music*. New York: Methuen.
- JULES-ROSETTE, BENNETTA (ed.), 1979. *The New Religions of Africa*. New Jersey: Ablex.
- KLASS, MORTON, 1991. *Singing with Sai Baba: The Politics of Revitalization in Trinidad*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- LA BARRE, WESTON, 1972. *The Peyote Cult*. New York: Schocken Books. (Fourth ed.)
- LANTERNARI, VITTORIO, 1963. *The Religions of the Oppressed: A Study of Modern Messianic Cults*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- LEWIS, WILLIAM P., 1993. *Soul Rebels: The Rastafari*. Prospect Heights IL: Waveland Press.
- LINK, RUTH, 1979. Rebel Music Spreads the Word. *Seven Days* 30:10.
- MATTELART, A., 1983. *Transnationals and the Third World: The Struggle for Culture*. South Hadley MA: Bergin & Garvey.
- NAGACHIMA, YOSKITO S., Rastafarian Music in Contemporary Jamaica. A Study of the Socio-religious Music of the Rastafarian Movement in Jamaica. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia-Africa.
- RANGER, TERENCE O., 1986. Religious Movements and Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa. *African Studies Review* 29:1-69.
- SANSONE, LIVIO, 1984. ...And Leisure Time is Mine: The Creole Youth of Amsterdam in Social Welfare, Vocational Education and Leisure Time. Amsterdam: Afdeling Besuursinformatie van de Gemeente Amsterdam.
- SAVISHINSKY, NEIL J., 1993. Rastafari in the Promised Land: The Spread of a Jamaican Socio-religious Movement and Its Music and Culture among the Youth of Ghana and Senegambia. Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, New York.
- . 1994. Rastafari in the Promised Land: The Spread of a Jamaican Socioreligious Movement among the Youth of West Africa. *African Studies Review* 37(3). [in press]
- SCHILLER, HERBERT I., 1976. *Communication and Cultural Domination*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- . 1989. *Culture, Inc.: The Corporate Takeover of Public Expression*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- SEMAJ, LEACHIM T., 1980. Rastafari: From Religion to Social Theory. *Caribbean Quarterly* 26(4):22-31.
- SHAW, ARNOLD, 1986. *Black Popular Music in America: From the Spirituals, Minstrels, and Ragtime to Soul, Disco, and Hip-Hop*. New York: Schirmer Books.
- STREET, JOHN, 1986. *Rebel Rock: The Politics of Popular Music*. New York: Basil Blackwell.
- SUNDKLER, BENGT G.M., 1961. *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*. London: Oxford University Press.

TAFARI, JABULANI I., 1980. The Rastafari – Successors of Marcus Garvey. *Caribbean Quarterly* 26(4):1-12.

TREPPER, BETH, 1984. Skanking with the Supai. *The Reggae and African Beat* 3(2):13.

WALLERSTEIN, IMMANUEL, 1979. *The Capitalist World-Economy: Essays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

WALLIS, ROGER & KRISTER MALM, 1984. *Big Sounds from Small Peoples: The Music Industry in Small Countries*. London: Constable and Company.

WITVLIET, THEO, 1985. *A Place in the Sun: Liberation Theology in the Third World*. New York: Orbis Books.

WRISTON, WALTER B., 1992. *The Twilight of Sovereignty: How the Information Technology Is Transforming Our World*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

ZINDI, FRED, 1985. *Roots Rocking in Zimbabwe*. Harare: Mambo Press.

NEIL J. SAVISHINSKY
162-04 72nd Avenue
Flushing, New York 11365 U.S.A.

WIM KLOOSTER

SUBORDINATE BUT PROUD: CURAÇAO'S FREE BLACKS AND
MULATTOES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY*

In his seminal work on Curaçao, published in 1958, Harmannus Hoetink described the island's social structure and the interrelations of social groups in the period before 1870. Since this book, Curaçao's social history during slavery has been little studied. Recent Caribbean history has devoted more attention to society in the plantation era by studying slaves as well as free men and women of African descent.¹ This article focuses on the free blacks and mulattoes in Curaçao in the eighteenth century. Two general questions are addressed here: what was the position of the free non-whites in Curaçaoan society, and how were they viewed by the white elite?

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Curaçao, a Dutch colony since 1634, was largely dependent on commerce. Most transactions took place along the nearby "coast of Caracas," the central littoral of present-day Venezuela, which supplied a vast array of products. Trade relations were also maintained with New Granada, Panama, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and both parts of Hispaniola. Curaçao's rise as a trading center in the late seventeenth century was inextricably bound up with its slave market. Over the years, tens of thousands of slaves were carried to Curaçao from western Africa and Angola. Dutch slavers were called on to meet the labor demands of planters in the Spanish colonies, as Spain itself only played a minor role in the slave trade, and the foreign merchants who had been granted the *asientos* could not always fulfil the stipulated quota (Postma 1990). Part of the Africans were not sold to the Spanish territories, but remained on the island, working either for the West India Company (WIC) or individual planters and merchants. White settlers and Company personnel were soon outnumbered by the Africans. In the eighteenth century, slaves continued

to arrive in Curaçao, though their numbers decreased after the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-13).

The white community was made up of Protestants and Jews, both of whom contributed to the island's prosperity, with the Jews being the more affluent group due to their successful trading activities. Most Protestants were from Holland, West Friesland, or Zeeland, but Germans and Scandinavians came to the island as well, as servants of the WIC (Emmanuel & Emmanuel 1970, I:93, 206, 226-28; Hartog 1961, I:340-43). Shipmasters, sailors, and merchants from other countries also settled on Curaçao, availing themselves of the island's status as a free port, which implied that any white man who married on the island, or promised to obey local laws while registering as a guard, was considered a full citizen. Marriage did not necessarily have to be with a white woman, as it was not uncommon for males in Curaçao to marry mulatto women.² A white elite ruled the island under the direction of a governor, who was appointed by the directors of the WIC. He had to swear allegiance to the Dutch States-General and the Prince of Orange. Together with a varying number of councillors he made up the Council, which combined judicial, legislative, and executive powers (Hartog 1961, I:221-22).

Curaçao's planters could not employ all their slaves in and around the house or in the fields, and sent some of them to town to earn wages as artisans. According to one source in the early nineteenth century, these slave artisans could even keep the proceeds of their products, provided that they handed over 6 to 14 *reales* each week to their masters (Hartog 1961, I:453; Visman 1981:41). Other slaves fulfilled Company tasks, like drumming. These were slaves owned by Company personnel, and their salaries were paid by their masters. In addition, slaves were to be found in many occupations, as is evident from a list compiled in 1775, showing all slaves of private persons who had fled the island – probably to *Tierra Firme* – in the previous decades.³

TABLE 1. MAIN OCCUPATIONS OF RUNAWAY SLAVES 1729-1775

Men	(n = 500)%		Women	(n = 85)%	
Field slaves	129	25.8	Laundresses	15	17.6
Seamen	82	16.4	Seamstresses ⁴	12	14.1
Carpenters	47	9.4	Knitters	10	11.8
Fishermen	32	6.4	Vendors	9	10.6
Shoemakers	30	6.0	Field slaves	8	9.4
Cooks	16	3.2	Domestic slaves	8	9.4
Musicians	15	3.0	Others	23	21.1
Bakers	15	3.0			
Bricklayers	14	2.8			
Tailors	14	2.8			
Others	106	21.2			

Source: ARA, NWIC 1166 fol. 124, list of slaves belonging to the citizens of Curaçao that fled to Coro or other places. Curaçao, July 7, 1775.⁵

It would, of course, be wrong to consider the runaways as representative for the entire slave population, but it is possible to make some observations. First, the number of field slaves in proportion to artisans clearly shows that Curaçao was not a typical Caribbean plantation economy. The list also draws attention to the interesting phenomenon of slave musicians: nine runaways had been violinists, five were drummers, and there was one French horn player. Among the women household slaves prevailed. Eight women were listed as domestic slaves in general, while most others apparently specialized in one or two tasks.

Also, a conspicuous number of slaves enlisted as sailors in Curaçao's merchant navy. Although they were bound to hand over their pay to their masters upon returning to Curaçao from a voyage, the slave-sailor still enjoyed some freedom, which in practice was increased through the assistance of the free coloreds. Slaves frequently borrowed documents from free slaves that bore witness to a person's enfranchisement, and ship captains signed them on. Governor Jacob van Bosvelt put an end to this custom by reintroducing a regulation which permitted free blacks and mulattoes only to be recruited when they possessed a document signed by the bailiff. Slaves could only enlist by submitting a written authority from their masters.⁶

Not all black and mulattoe slaves spent their whole lives in bondage. Some were freed by their masters and set about to make a living on their own. Manumission was prompted by a number of motives. It could be a token of affection from the planters for their loyal slaves or for their own flesh and blood, but it might also be an easy way to get rid of a slave who had become a burden, either because he was ill or crippled, or because the planter's earnings were decreasing. In the latter case, freedmen would often find

themselves unprepared for their new status and responsibilities. Unlike their counterparts in the British West Indies, Curaçaoan planters were not required to pay a manumission fee to support freed slaves (cf. Handler 1974:39-44).

There also existed a vast difference between the practice of manumission in Curaçao and in Suriname. In the latter colony, slave owners could only free a slave after receiving permission from the colonial authorities, which was only granted if it was guaranteed that the freedman would be able to maintain himself. Furthermore, manumitter and manumitted were obliged to support each other in the future. As a consequence of these measures, which became effective in 1733, the number of free non-whites in the colony remained low for a long time to come (Hoetink 1972:62; Brana-Shute 1989:41, 43).

Only during the period 1750-52 the planters had to pay 100 *pesos* to the Company for the manumission of every male slave under sixty years of age, and every female slave under fifty years. This stipulation, however, was not intended to render assistance to the freedmen, but rather as a fine for the masters. At the time, whites were feeling uncomfortable about the rapid growth of the group of free blacks and mulattoes.⁷

To obtain their freedom, slaves on Curaçao were not completely dependent on the decision of their masters, but also had the right of self-purchase. Those who worked on the land had to pay 300 *pesos* (or approximately 750 Dutch guilders) or the equivalent in kind, and the bondsmen who worked in the town of Willemstad sometimes made similar arrangements. Three hundred *pesos* were no trifle. The average slave price in Curaçao between 1740 and 1795 was 233 Dutch guilders or 93 *pesos* (Visman 1980:40-41, 43; Postma 1990:268). Manumission was relatively frequent among the slaves who lived on the WIC plantations.⁸

Most freedmen settled in Willemstad sooner or later. The only reliable census of the eighteenth century, the one taken in 1789, indicates that 70 percent of the free blacks and mulattoes lived in town.⁹ A substantial number of male freedmen worked as artisans and sailors. Around 1740, two-thirds of the Curaçaoan mariners were made up of non-whites, who like their white colleagues were enlisted by merchants and ship captains. Along the Spanish coasts blacks and mulattoes were usually the ones to be sent ashore in canoes, where they ran the risk of being seized by coastguards looking for Dutch smugglers. After returning to Curaçao the sailors were paid off and each went his own way. When it subsequently appeared that incidents had occurred on board, it was invariably difficult to locate the sailors again. Isaac Faesch, the island's governor between 1740 and 1758, considered it impossible to impose a regular tax on the free blacks and

mulattoes, as they were "sometimes absent from the island a year and a day, hanging around here and there at unknown places."¹⁰ A possible explanation is that because for many sailors trade was the only source of revenue, a slack season forced them to make a living elsewhere in the region. In addition, free blacks and mulattoes from the French, British, and Spanish Antilles temporarily found shelter on Curaçao. Initially, they were ordered to leave the island, but since 1754 all free blacks and mulattoes from the English, French and Spanish colonies had to enlist for militia service, and were thus recognized for practical purposes.¹¹

Sailors did not exactly make a fortune. In the middle of the eighteenth century many seamen families had to live off a pittance of ten *pesos* a month. This meant that slave sailors needed at least the income of two and a half years to purchase their freedom, if their owners agreed on a manumission sum of 300 *pesos*. Often, however, sailors supplemented their incomes by engaging in small trading operations, as part of Curaçao's contraband trade with the Spanish colonies. For this, they incurred debts with merchants and shipowners. In times when Spanish coastguard vessels increased their vigilance, this trade was a gamble, because all products that were brought along from the Spanish ports might be lost if the ship was seized.¹²

There were exceptions to the straitened circumstances that most free blacks and mulattoes were living in. A famous example was Antonio Beltran, since 1747 the captain of the free black guard, who bought a house with a large porch in Otrobanda, the new western quarter of Willemstad. Beltran had made his money as a captain and supercargo on the sloops and schooners of the coastal trade. Some of the better-off free coloreds, mostly mulattoes but also blacks, became slaveholders. Jean Rodier (acting governor in 1758-61 and 1762-64, and governor from 1764 to 1782) informed the directors of the West India Company:

There are perhaps people who want Your Honours to believe that among them [the free non-whites], there are some who have many slaves. It is true that a few female mulattoes or *mustiesen*, being the concubines of some fools, own a lot of slaves, but that is only temporarily, and the saying "Easily won, easily lost" applies to these people quite well. On the other hand, you will find one hundred who own one or two slaves at the most, and the rest owns none, having to work harder than slaves and being in want, especially in bad times, when there is no shipping traffic, as they owe their existence solely to that.¹³

Former slaves and their descendants, blacks and mulattoes alike, constituted – as elsewhere in the New World – a distinct social category, and were therefore listed under a separate heading in tax lists. Whites were usually the only ones liable for the household tax, but since 1719 free blacks and

mulattoes were also assessed. The tax lists give an impression of the island's population. Whites, including Company personnel, were divided into three classes: ten families were assessed for seven pesos, seventy-four for four pesos, and 227 for two pesos. All free non-whites were assessed for two pesos. It is clear from the lists that nuclear families (mother, father, children) were rare among the free non-whites, as is shown by the large number of single women who paid taxes: nine out of eleven free mulatto households and twenty-three out of thirty-seven free black households.¹⁴

At irregular intervals, better-off free coloreds like Beltran were liable for two taxes: a poll tax for free blacks and mulattoes and a poll tax on slaves, which came to four *reales* (half a *peso*) per adult slave owned. Before 1747 both whites and free non-whites were assessed for the tax on slaves and, after a period of exemption, the directors of the WIC again proposed to collect it among the free non-whites in the 1760s. Jean Rodier disapproved of this idea and emphasized, as we have seen, that many families in the free non-white sector were poverty-stricken.¹⁵

The other poll tax, already referred to above by Governor Faesch, was a property tax that the WIC (around 1740) wanted to levy on free non-whites exclusively. The WIC's Amsterdam Chamber took the view that "the free blacks and mulattoes living on the island are enjoying this Company's protection, and should contribute something to public welfare."¹⁶ Faesch was opposed to the levy because of the difficulty of collecting the tax, as well as security reasons. He warned the Company not to alienate the free non-white sector, which in wartime would be vital to the island's defense. Nevertheless, 400 blacks and 140 mulattoes were assessed, but Faesch had the last word and decided not to collect and continue the exemption, as the free non-whites were on guard duty and contributed in this way to the public welfare. In 1769 a new policy was inaugurated. The growing number of free coloreds – by 1789 they outnumbered the whites – and the resulting increase in costs, led to resumption of the collection of the property tax. Moreover, at the end of the eighteenth century, new additional taxes – an excise on drink and a two percent tax on the sale of real estate – were levied on free blacks, mulattoes, and whites alike.¹⁷

As is shown in Table 2, a large majority of the population was still enslaved. In the following decades the slave population was overtaken by the free non-whites, whose numbers increased to 4,549 in 1817 and 6,531 in 1833, or 32.2% and 43.5% of the total population respectively (Hoetink 1987:75).

TABLE 2. THE POPULATION OF CURAÇAO IN 1789

	Willemstad and outskirts	Countryside	Total	
Protestants	2,001	468	2,469	(11.8%)
Jews	1,023	72	1,095	(5.2%)
Free non-whites	2,617	1,097	3,714	(17.7%)
Free servants ¹⁸	483	363	846	(4.0%)
Slaves	5,419	7,445	12,864	(61.3%)
	11,543	9,445	20,988	(100 %)

Source: ARA, Raad van Coloniën 120, General survey of Curaçao and dependant islands, appendix no. 16: Report of private houses.

On account of their African ancestry, free coloreds on Curaçao – like everywhere in the Caribbean – did not enjoy the same rights as whites. If a free black or mulatto wounded or insulted a white person of irreproachable conduct, no judicial inquiry was opened, but the white man was simply taken at his word, and the alleged colored aggressor was exiled or received corporal punishment. If a white man wounded a free black or mulatto, the victim was not allowed to call a black or mulatto witness because their testimony lacked any legal recognition. White witnesses, however, were welcome. If the white man was found guilty he had to pay a fine. Preferably, no publicity was given to this, whereas whippings of blacks and coloreds took place in public. An obvious example of judicial inequality was a 1748 regulation banning people from sailing towards arriving ships before the shipmasters had reported themselves to the governor. Whites violating this rule had to pay twenty-five pesos, while soldiers were allowed to fire on black and mulatto offenders.¹⁹

In a society based on African slavery, the idea that people of black descent constituted a kind of servant class was natural to many whites. How this view affected even the free non-whites is shown by an ordinance of 1742 that assigned them to supply clay and stones for the construction of fortifications. Whites would never be charged with such tasks. The free non-whites were disadvantaged in other ways as well. In 1749 obstacles were put in the way of the traders among them, as they were considered to be formidable competitors of the less well-to-do Protestants. From then on, free blacks and mulattoes were forbidden to keep a shop in town, although they could continue to have commercial dealings in their homes and to take their merchandise downtown during the daytime. It is not clear when this measure was revoked.²⁰

Competition by non-whites became a problem for whites in the second half of the eighteenth century. Whereas up to 1787 manumission was a rarity in the plantation colony of Suriname, the commercial character of Curaçao

did not call for limitations on the numbers of slaves that were set free. To the dismay of the island's authorities, frequent manumission created a relatively large group of free non-whites. Members of the Council of Curaçao often complained about the difficulties they experienced in governing the island. They purported that only one out of twenty inhabitants was white, and expressed their concern about the self-assured group of free coloreds. Due to their pride, one white man argued, none of the free coloreds wanted to be in service to somebody else, which they considered to be incompatible with their social position. They would rather suffer in poverty. According to this white individual, the free non-whites' impudence manifested itself when they gathered in groups to stroll the streets armed with sticks while singing loudly, or when they caused accidents by riding horseback along the city streets at great speed.²¹

Apart from the free non-whites, the Company faced a slave population it did not trust, and even less so after the rebellion of 1750, in which Company slaves of the Hato plantation rose in revolt against an unpopular overseer and killed an unknown number of people, probably five to ten. The revolt was put down – mainly by the free black and mulatto militias – and thirty-four rebels were executed and thirteen exiled.²² Although none of the victims was white, this insurrection filled the whites with dread, as was shown by the measures that were taken. Gatherings of slaves were promptly prohibited, while drum beating and violin playing, traditionally viewed as seditious activities, were outlawed on penalty of either a fifty *pesos* fine or whipping, branding, and banishment to the salt pans of Bonaire. In this way, an end was put to the common practice among slaves to add luster to their weddings and funerals with music. No more than six slaves a time were allowed to attend funerals, and afterwards they had to return “home” straightaway. Moreover, they were not permitted to go out after nine o'clock in the evening. These measures were again introduced in the wake of the events that took place the day after Christmas 1760. The governor was informed that a group of slaves was about to rise in rebellion, whereupon he dispatched a patrol of militiamen. In the Jewish quarter of Willemstad, they encountered more than one hundred blacks making music with drums and other instruments. The mere sound they produced had led to the rumor of a rebellion.²³

White fears again surfaced later in the 1760s, when the island's fiscal, who had to see to the observance of the laws, created quite a stir within the small white community. He was accused of systematically refusing to deal in a serious way with white complaints about black or mulatto crimes, while a mulatto complaint about a white offence was enough to have the white man imprisoned. His policy was clearly not in line with tradition. The whites

raised a hue and cry over that.²⁴ Most of them probably took the same view as a British planter who alleged in 1790 that "in all the islands ... I have known, both English and French, they have considered free Negroes and Mulattoes as a nuisance ... and the only advantage the Colonies can receive from them is by employing them in the defense of the Island, in case of invasion" (cited in Cox 1984:132). While Governor Faesch and his successor Rodier agreed upon this advantage, faith in a brave free colored performance in case of a foreign invasion was not shared by all white citizens of Curaçao. One of them expressed his fears of a repetition of a strategy that had proved successful in the Seven Years' War. During the siege of Havana, the English had announced that free blacks and mulattoes who took up arms against them would be enslaved again together with their wives and children. Upon hearing this, the free non-whites reportedly left the city in force. Rodier, however, was more afraid of Spain than of England. In 1780 he argued that in the event of a Spanish attack, Curaçao was not able to conscript more than six to seven hundred whites, while they could not rely on slaves or free coloreds, since they were "blind Roman Catholics" and felt much affection for both Spanish clerics and the Spanish nation.²⁵

At times, the authorities were indeed worried by the massive black and mulatto affiliation with the Roman Catholic Church. Since 1661 Catholic priests had, on certain conditions, been allowed to preach in Curaçao. Between 1680 and 1705 no less than fifty-five of them came to the island.²⁶ Some arrived merely to baptize the newly born, while others settled on the island. Unlike the Protestant ministers, these priests directed their efforts towards the Africans and their descendants. As time went by the Protestant authorities of Curaçao found themselves governing a predominantly Catholic population. It took considerable time before the WIC directors were informed about this situation.²⁷ In 1740 Governor Faesch pointed out to them that almost all blacks and mulattoes, either slave or free, were Roman Catholics, "this religion being more congenial because of its ceremonies, while its priests take more trouble attracting them than our clergymen do." The WIC directors were alarmed and took up their pens, assigning the Rev. Wigboldus Rasvelt to pay special attention to the conversion of blacks and mulattoes, and advising him to set an example with a pious and edifying way of life.²⁸ Rasvelt responded that there was an unfair competition going on:

It is, indeed, no surprise that Father Cloeck [the Catholic priest] has converted many blacks to Christianity (if those who don't know anything about the faith in Christ, and at the very most mumble some prayers, though without knowledge or attention, can bear the name of Christians) as it is well-known that *ex navitate*, and as it were *ex natura*, blacks are Roman Catholics or have a leaning to it. That is why a priest will baptize a

bozal [a recently arrived slave] ... for two reales, if he can only say some common prayers, and has a godfather and godmother, even though he does not understand the religion at all.²⁹

In the end, the secular arm acquiesced in the general non-white adherence to Roman Catholicism. In the closing years of the eighteenth century, the Curaçaoan governor Johannes de Veer even opposed the sending of an Anglican parson. It would only disturb the peace:

[A]ll blacks in this land, slave or free, profess the Roman Catholic religion and therefore they are Christians, a faith that in view of the common weal of this land is more suitable and beneficial to that kind of people than the Protestant or Lutheran one, because the Roman Catholic priests manage to keep them in check, owing to a more despotic authority, as a result of which there is, until today, among those people not even the semblance of insurgency, which there is in the colonies of Suriname, Essequebo, Berbice etc., where the slaves are mainly left in their pagan opinions and are not given the slightest instruction in the Christian religion, so there has to be continuous rebelliousness, while the slave owners fancy they may treat these poor creatures as animals ...³⁰

Ironically, only seven months after these words were written down, in August 1795 a large rebellion broke out among Curaçaoan blacks and mulattoes. Between two hundred and three hundred joined an unsuccessful movement aimed at putting an end to taxes and slavery. Several rebels were killed in battle, or executed afterwards.

As underlined by De Veer, Curaçao and Suriname differed markedly in terms of their respective numbers of non-white Christians. In the eyes of Suriname's colonists, no slaves qualified for Christianization. Up to the 1820s, planters preferred that their bondsmen stuck to pagan beliefs, which they used as another justification for slavery (Oostindie 1992:154-55). In Curaçao, planters initially watched with indifference how Catholicism became an important constituent of non-white culture. The colonial authorities were not troubled by conversion to Roman Catholicism, even though some officials were worried by the regular church attendance of blacks and mulattoes, fearing that large meetings could lead to rebellion.

The conversion of the Africans and their descendants reinforced latinization of Curaçao's population, since there were many Spaniards and a few Frenchmen among the priests on the island. The blacks and mulattoes had a distinct preference for the Spanish priests, to the great dissatisfaction of the Dutch Catholic Church wardens who depicted the Spaniards as "good-for-nothings."³¹ When thereupon a Dutch priest arrived, the bishop of Caracas was angered, claiming religious authority in Curaçao. Through diplomatic channels, Spain now requested the States General to allow the bishop of Caracas to appoint the island's priests, if only to solve the language prob-

lem. The Dutch priest wasn't exactly fluent in Spanish, and therefore his contacts with the faithful left much to be desired.³² The decision in 1776 of the Dutch Franciscans to preach in Papiamentu should therefore be seen as a Dutch bid to gain the confidence of the faithful. Spanish priests, however, continued to arrive. Father Theodorus Brouwer in 1785 complained that they turned up from time to time, saying Mass, preaching, baptizing, and marrying. This meant a substantial financial loss for Brouwer's mission, which missed out on 50 Dutch guilders for every celebrated marriage.³³

The black and mulatto Catholics – white Catholics constituted only a small minority – did not welcome all priests. They wanted somebody they respected, like Miguel Grimon in the early 1750s, whom they almost worshipped. The religious leader had to be of unimpeachable conduct and should not administer the sacraments in a drunken stupor, as once had happened.³⁴ When in 1747 the blacks and mulattoes found out that their priest, Michael Roldan, was living in sin, they demanded he be removed from office. The church wardens called him to account and the priest immediately sent his woman away. Unsatisfied, the blacks and mulattoes unrestrainedly expressed their dislike in church on Sunday, and the following day they assembled in large numbers in front of the church building,

committing all sorts of mischief, and they even tried to break down the doors with chopping-knives and other weapons in order to get hold of the priest, who managed to flee and hide with one of his neighbors.

Escorted by the bailiff and his servants, Roldan could later be brought back to his church. There was more to this incident than just moral indignation of the blacks and mulattoes. It so happened that there was a second priest on the island, a certain Salvator de Guebarza, who had been expelled two years earlier for obscure reasons, probably seditiousness. He came back and built up a host of followers among the blacks and mulattoes by treating them on the same footing as the whites. Roldan and Guebarza were avowed enemies...³⁵

Obviously, white, black, and mulatto are relative categories. As Gad Heuman (1981:4) has observed for Jamaica, continuous intercourse between whites and non-whites eventually made free coloreds form "a separate group ... with their own social hierarchies and a specific nomenclature to account for their varied racial origins." In the case of the free non-whites of Curaçao, Hoetink's view (1987:83) that prosperity and somatic traits tended to correlate, can only be endorsed. In 1752 some members of the island's Council drew attention to a number of families with African origins that were not only well-to-do and powerful, but also had forged marital bonds

with whites, as a result of which, according to the councillors, they should now be treated as the whites' equals.³⁶ The acceptance of this mulatto upper class in white circles was not accepted quietly, as is clear from a dispute in 1769 between the WIC's military commanders and the civil militia officers. The bone of contention was which organization could incorporate a group of twenty to thirty soldiers who were the offspring of either whites and mulattoes (so-called *mustiesen*), of *mustiesen* and mulattoes, or of *mustiesen* and *sambos* (the children of mulattoes and blacks).³⁷ Since Isaac Faesch's government, the free black and free mulatto militias had come under the jurisdiction of military commanders. The commanders wanted to keep the near-whites within the mulatto militia, but the white militia officers also laid claim to them, arguing that they were not real mulattoes. The white commanders eventually won the argument in most cases and by 1789, 214 *mustiesen* were part of a 1,063 men strong white militia unit. Still, the authorities questioned their reliability in the event of a Spanish attack.³⁸

Free mulattoes set great store on being considered as *mustiesen*.³⁹ Aiming to climb the social ladder, at least some of them looked down upon the free blacks in the same way as whites generally did. This was obvious, for instance, from their claim to precedence over the blacks on the day Governor Faesch was installed in 1740. The former governor had separated mulattoes and blacks on duty, creating distinct militias. The first time for the two corps to perform as such was at the inauguration of the new governor. Immediately, problems arose because the free blacks and the free mulattoes wanted to march ahead of each other in the parade. The mulattoes did not go on record as saying that they were entitled to have preference because of their lighter complexion, but this surely must have been one of their arguments. They may also have stressed their greater prosperity. The blacks, interestingly enough, countered with two arguments in their own favor. Governor Faesch reported that they "argued that they should be considered superior to the mulattoes, because their race had produced kings, and besides, without blacks there would never have been any mulattoes."⁴⁰

For some time after, there was intense competition between two unidentified groups of free non-whites, probably divided into blacks and mulattoes, who came to blows at the slightest provocation. In the slave rebellion of 1795 the free non-whites were again divided amongst themselves. On the one hand, free blacks and mulattoes were instrumental in spreading French revolutionary ideas, while on the other hand, the contribution of their respective militias in crushing the revolt was indispensable (Lowenthal 1973:388; Paula 1974; Hamelberg 1979:164). There was no division along color lines in this case; instead, the dividing line was right across free non-white ranks, with blacks and mulattoes in both camps.

Throughout the eighteenth century, hooliganism and inflammatory actions were perpetrated concertedly by blacks and mulattoes. Such deviant behavior by mulattoes has been explained by Hoetink (1987:118, 123-26, 160-61) as part of his theory on Curaçao's ingrained patterns of slave holder behavior and slave behavior, two complementary complexes of ideas and rules concerning the suitable attitudes of these groups. According to Hoetink, a majority of the mulattoes lived outside this system and were therefore insecure and unpredictable.⁴¹ Similar behavior by free blacks cannot, of course, be explained in this way. Perhaps an economic explanation would do better. Taking into account the peculiar nature of Curaçao's economy, in which plantation labor was not important, and many people of African descent, both free and slave, could make a living in a rather independent way, the unpredictability of black behavior could have resulted from the conflicting demands of the pattern of slave behavior on the one hand, and the lack of servitude in everyday life on the other.

In summary, it may be said that Curaçao's mercantile character left its mark on the island's demographic and judicial divisions and resulting social relations. The white minority viewed blacks and mulattoes with a mixture of fear and indifference. Feeling uncomfortable about the non-whites' numerical superiority, they were alarmed at the drop of a hat. Nevertheless, although some prohibitions were issued, the non-whites were not excessively burdened with all sorts of restrictive laws. Not thwarted in their religious affiliation, blacks and mulattoes adopted Catholicism, which became an essential element of their culture. To some extent, blacks and mulattoes were also left to their devices in the economic sphere. A good number of slaves were sent out to earn a living as artisans or sailors. If these examples of white lack of care were not unknown to plantation colonies, they were certainly less significant. The same was true for Curaçao's manumission rate, which eclipsed that of Suriname by far. In general, the manumission rate in Curaçao was more comparable to the situation in the Spanish colonies than that in plantation societies like Jamaica and St. Domingue. Consequently, a large group of free non-whites was created who competed with less affluent white traders. Obstacles were put in the way of these freedmen, which made them share the fate of their peers in other slave societies. They were no slaves, nor were they free, but neither did they resign themselves to their fate. They manifested themselves when the occasion arose, sometimes vis-à-vis the whites, and at other times amongst themselves. Their growing numbers and assertiveness alarmed the whites, who nonetheless as time went by were not able to get around admission in their midst of those mulattoes that were their equals in terms of social status.

NOTES

* Thanks go to Remco Raben, who made some useful comments on an earlier draft of this article.

1. See Heuman 1981; Cox 1984; Pérotin-Dumon 1991; Trouillot 1992.
2. Algemeen Rijksarchief (ARA), The Hague, Liassen Staten-Generaal 5800, J.B. Bicker, director of the WIC, Chamber of Amsterdam, to the States General, Amsterdam, May 13, 1777; ARA, Nieuwe West-Indische Compagnie [NWIC] 591, fols. 714-715, Governor Isaac Faesch to WIC, Chamber of Amsterdam, Curaçao, February 2, 1745; ARA, NWIC 1158 fol. 84, Jan van Schagen, fiscal of Curaçao, to the Board of X of the WIC, Curaçao, September 30, 1743. Foreigners were registered as guards after a stay of one year and six weeks on the island; see ARA, NWIC 1176 fols. 333-334, the minutes of the Council of Curaçao, September 16, 1789, and Kunst 1981:206.
3. Of all these slaves, one was reported to have fled as early as 1729. Allegedly, ten more slaves escaped before 1750.
4. Besides, nine female slaves combined sewing with another occupation.
5. See also ARA, Verspreide West-Indische Stukken 972, the report by W.A.I. van Groenestein and W.C. Boeij, The Hague, February 11, 1791, pp. 62-63.
6. Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Seville, Sección Santo Domingo 781, Testimonies of Evert Franken and Samuel Levi Maduro, Puerto Cabello, September 6, 1730. ARA, NWIC 603 fols. 1249-1250, Ordinance of Governor Jacob van Bosvelt, Curaçao, July 29, 1761.
7. Hamelberg (1979:178). As late as 1787, two commissioners sent by the *stadhouder* found no regulations dealing with manumission. Considering the practice of abandoning old or sick slaves, they proposed to make it obligatory for slaveholders to commit themselves to take care of their former slaves if they were reduced to poverty. ARA, Collectie G.K. van Hogendorp 154 f no. 32, Memorandum of considerations on the report on the state's colonies in the West Indies, handed to His Serene Highness by His commissioners, March 19, 1787.
8. The number of manumitted slaves or the frequency of manumissions is not known. This topic is worth a separate study.
9. ARA, Raad van Coloniën 120, General survey of Curaçao and dependent islands, appendix no. 16: Report of private houses. See Knight (1990:140-41) for the conscious and subconscious motives of freedmen to live in towns.
10. ARA, NWIC 588, fol. 890, Intelligence collected by the delegates of the Council of Curaçao, J.G. Pax, Johannes Stuijlingh and Jan van Schagen, Curaçao, June 18, 1741; and NWIC 588, fol. 726, Isaac Faesch to WIC, Chamber Amsterdam, Curaçao, July 4, 1741.
11. ARA, NWIC 607, fol. 344, Governor Jean Rodier to WIC, Curaçao, September 27, 1769; NWIC 603, fols. 1193-1194, Ordinance of Governor Jacob van Bosvelt, May 20, 1761. Ordinances of October 24, 1743 and March 4, 1754, in Schiltkamp & De Smidt 1978, 1:234, 290.
12. ARA, NWIC 599, fols. 912-913, J.G. Pax and Nathaniel Ellis, delegates of the Council of Curaçao, to Governor Faesch and councillors, Curaçao, September 24, 1753. Monthly wages of sailors are given in ARA, Oud Archief Curaçao 814, fol. 482.
13. ARA, NWIC 607, fol. 344, Governor J. Rodier to the WIC, Curaçao, September 27, 1769.
14. ARA, NWIC 574, fols. 461-462, Family list.

15. ARA, NWIC 317, Antonio Beltran to WIC, Chamber of Amsterdam, Curaçao, August 17, 1750; NWIC 607, fol. 341, Governor Jean Rodier to WIC, Curaçao, September 27, 1769.
16. Goslinga 1985:103, 119. ARA, NWIC 474, fol. 150, Cornelis Hop and Willem Backer, WIC, Chamber of Amsterdam, to Governor Isaac Faesch, Amsterdam, November 14, 1741.
17. ARA, NWIC 601, fols. 782-783, Governor Isaac Faesch to WIC, Chamber of Amsterdam, Curaçao, April 5, 1758; NWIC 590, fols. 445-451, Poll tax of free blacks and mulattoes, 1742; NWIC 1176, fol. 417, Minutes of the Council of Curaçao, 1789. In the middle of the eighteenth century the island had four militia units: two white ones, one free black, and one free mulatto. See ARA, NWIC 1160, Council of Curaçao to WIC, Chamber of Amsterdam, Curaçao, May 18, 1751; Goslinga 1985:123.
18. In the census, this group was not subdivided into Jews, Protestants, and freedmen.
19. ARA, NWIC 318, J. Rodier, J. Lix Raaven, Cornelis Stuijlingh, Gerrit Specht, J.C. van Brandt, Philip Schoonenboom, and Pieter de Meij L. Zoon to WIC, Chamber of Amsterdam, Curaçao, December 30, 1766. Ordinance of February 21, 1748 in Schiltkamp & De Smidt 1978, I:259.
20. ARA, NWIC 1176, fol. 453, Michiel Römer to WIC, Curaçao, November 4, 1789; NWIC 1159, fol. 154, Proposals of Marten Hempel, Jan Hendrik Brugman, Claas Visser, and Hendrik Smits Dirksz, on behalf of the citizens of Curaçao, Curaçao, January 31, 1749; NWIC 1159, fol. 141, Governor Isaac Faesch to WIC, Curaçao, March 15, 1749. See also Cox (1984:65-66) on proposals to counter competition of white traders by freedmen in St. Kitts.
21. ARA, NWIC 596, fol. 343, J.W.C. van Laar, Statement of secret considerations, Curaçao, December 25, 1747; NWIC 613, fol. 245, Fiscal P.Th. van Teijlingen to the WIC, Curaçao, July 12, 1785. Ordinances of April 22, 1767 and March 3, 1747, in Schiltkamp & De Smidt 1978, I:340, 247.
22. De Hoog 1982:42-43; Hamelberg 1979:165-71; ARA, NWIC 317, Governor Isaac Faesch to the directors of the WIC, Curaçao, May 2, 1752. Apparently it was very difficult to enforce such laws. Either they were quickly forgotten or they had to be repeated at regular intervals.
23. ARA, NWIC 603, fols. 1235-1237, Ordinance of Governor Isaac Faesch, reintroduced by Governor Jacob van Bosvelt, Curaçao, July 28, 1750 and July 2, 1761; Schiltkamp & De Smidt 1978, I:270-72; NWIC 1176, fol. 454, Michiel Römer to WIC, Curaçao, November 4, 1789; NWIC 605 fols. 577-578, Gerrit Specht, militia captain, to WIC, Curaçao, January 21, 1767.
24. ARA, NWIC 318, Council of Curaçao to WIC, Chamber of Amsterdam, Curaçao, December 30, 1766.
25. ARA, NWIC 607, fol. 341, Governor Jean Rodier to WIC, Curaçao, September 27, 1769; NWIC 612, fol. 146, J. Lix Raaven to WIC, Curaçao, April 12, 1782; NWIC 611, fol. 485, Governor J. Rodier and Council of Curaçao to WIC, February 15, 1780. Rumors of a Spanish attack also frightened the authorities of the Dutch Wild Coast colony of Essequibo. In the late 1760s, no more than thirty-nine soldiers could be raised there, though many able-bodied men were not recruited, since the Director General questioned their loyalty. They were Spaniards, Frenchmen, Swiss, and Flemings. ARA, Staten-Generaal 5792, D. Luycx Massis and Abraham Duvelaer to the States General, Middelburg, August 21, 1769.
26. Goslinga 1985:247, 257-58; Brada 1965:33; AGI, Sección Santo Domingo 744, Governor Diego de Melo Maldonado to the King, Caracas, May 3, 1686.
27. Even so, the Company directors had been told as early as 1690 that Roman Catholic priests were walking around on Curaçao wearing habits (Brada 1961:11, 14).

28. ARA, NWIC 588, fol. 251, Governor Isaac Faesch to the WIC directors, Chamber of Amsterdam, Curaçao, September 22, 1740; NWIC 474, fol. 143, Jan van Loon and Bauduin van Collen, WIC directors, Chamber of Amsterdam, to the Rev. Wigboldus Rasvelt, Amsterdam, July 4, 1741.
29. ARA, NWIC 589, fol. 6, The Rev. Wigboldus Rasvelt to the WIC directors, Chamber of Amsterdam, Curaçao, January 29, 1742.
30. ARA, Raad van Coloniën 77, no. 171, Governor J. de Veer Abz. to the members of the Council of the West Indian Colonies, Curaçao, January 30, 1795.
31. ARA, NWIC 600, fol. 1171, Antoni Slijk and Jan Baptista Goehassine, wardens of the Roman Catholic Church, to the WIC, Chamber of Amsterdam, Curaçao, January 7, 1756.
32. ARA, Collectie Fagel 1820, *Extrait d'une representation que le Conseil des Yndes a fait au Roy...*, February 1767. This request did not convince the States General, which continued to prefer Dutchmen. They did not object to the fact that the priests would receive their mission from the bishop of Caracas, provided that arrangements were made to ensure that runaway slaves from Curaçao and the Spanish colonies would be taken back to where they belonged, Register Resolutions Representative *stadhouder* and WIC, Chamber of Amsterdam, March 31, 1767.
33. ARA, NWIC 613, fol. 197, P.Th. van Teijlingen, fiscal, to Governor Johannes de Veer, Curaçao, June 3, 1785; NWIC 613, fol. 192, Governor Johannes de Veer to the WIC, Chamber of Zeeland, Curaçao, June 4, 1785.
34. ARA, NWIC 601, fols. 448-450, Memorandum of Antoni Slijk, warden of the Roman Catholic Church, Curaçao, June 13, 1757.
35. ARA, NWIC 596, fols. 23-29, Joan Wilhem Claus van Laar to the WIC, Curaçao, December 31, 1747; Brada 1951:9-10.
36. ARA, NWIC 599, fols. 348-349, Deputies J.G. Pax, Chr. Raphoen, and Herm. Rojez to WIC, Curaçao, December 22, 1752.
37. This classification was reported by the agronomist Teenstra 1836-37, I:166.
38. ARA, NWIC 607, fols. 89-91, Governor J. Rodier to WIC, Chamber of Amsterdam, Curaçao, January 17, 1769; NWIC 1176, fols. 323-324, 420-421, Minutes of a meeting of the Council of Curaçao, September 16, 1789.
39. On the other hand, *mustiesen* were also to be found among the slaves. There were nine among those slaves who in 1775 were reported to have fled in the previous decades, ARA, NWIC 1166, fol. 124.
40. ARA, NWIC 588, fols. 57-58, Governor Isaac Faesch to the directors of the WIC, Chamber of Amsterdam, Curaçao, August 6, 1740. See also: NWIC 588, fol. 478, Faesch to the directors of the WIC, Curaçao, April 2, 1741.
41. Still, it is valid for Curaçao as for the Caribbean as a whole: little is known about the lower and middle strata of the free colored group. See also Sio 1981:157-58.

REFERENCES

- BRADA, W.M.J., 1951. *Kerkgeschiedenis Curaçao (1742-1776)*. Willemstad: s.n.
- , 1961. *Kerkgeschiedenis Curaçao 1680-1707*. [Willemstad]: s.n.

- , 1965. *Pater Schabel S.J. 1704-1713*. [Willemstad]: s.n.
- BRANA-SHUTE, ROSEMARY, 1989. Approaching Freedom: The Manumission of Slaves in Suriname, 1760-1828. *Slavery & Abolition* 10(3):40-63.
- COX, EDWARD L., 1984. *Free Coloreds in the Slave Societies of St. Kitts and Grenada, 1763-1833*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- EMMANUEL, ISAAC S. & SUZANNE A. EMMANUEL, 1970. *History of the Jews of Netherlands Antilles*. 2 vols. Cincinnati: Jewish Historical Archives.
- GOSLINGA, CORNELIS CH., 1985. *The Dutch in the Caribbean and in the Guianas 1680-1791*. Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum.
- HAMELBERG, J.H.J., 1979. *De Nederlanders op de West-Indische eilanden*. Amsterdam: S. Emmering. [Orig. 1901]
- HANDLER, JEROME S., 1974. *The Unappropriated People: Freedmen in the Slave Society of Barbados*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- HARTOG, JOH., 1961. *Curaçao: van kolonie tot autonomie*. 2 vols. Aruba: De Wit.
- HEUMAN, GAD J., 1981. *Between Black and White: Race, Politics, and the Free Coloreds in Jamaica, 1792-1865*. Oxford: Clio Press.
- HOETINK, HARMANNUS, 1958. *Het patroon van de oude Curaçaose samenleving*. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- , 1972. Suriname and Curaçao. In David W. Cohen & Jack P. Greene (eds.), *Neither Slave Nor Free: The Freedmen of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 59-83.
- , 1987. *Het patroon van de oude Curaçaose samenleving*. Amsterdam: S. Emmering. [Orig. 1958; fifth enlarged ed.]
- HOOG, LEVINA DE, 1982. *Van rebellie tot revolutie. Oorzaken en achtergronden van de Curaçaose slavenopstanden in 1750 en 1795*. Leiden: Caraïbische Afdeling, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
- KNIGHT, FRANKLIN W., 1990. *The Caribbean: The Genesis of a Fragmented Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press. [Orig. 1978.]
- KUNST, A.J.M., 1981. *Recht, commercie en kolonialisme in West-Indië vanaf de zestiende tot in de negentiende eeuw*. Zutphen: De Walburg Pers.
- LOWENTHAL, DAVID, 1973. Free Colored West Indians: A Racial Dilemma. *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 3:335-53.
- OOSTINDIE, GERT, 1992. The Enlightenment, Christianity and the Suriname slave. *Journal of Caribbean History* 26:147-70.
- PAULA, A.F. (ed.), 1974. *1795. De slavenopstand op Curaçao. Een bronnenuitgave van de originele overheidsdocumenten*. Curaçao: Centraal Historisch Archief.
- PEROTIN-DUMON, ANNE, 1991. The Emergence of Politics among Free-Coloureds and Slaves in Revolutionary Guadeloupe. *Journal of Caribbean History* 25:100-35.
- POSTMA, JOHANNES MENNE, 1990. *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- SCHILTKAMP, J.A. & J.TH. DE SMIDT (eds.), 1978. *West Indisch plakkaatboek: Publikaties en andere wetten alsmede de oudste resoluties betrekking hebbende op Curaçao, Aruba, Bonaire*. 2 vols. Amsterdam: S. Emmering.

SIO, ARNOLD S., 1991. Marginality and Free Coloured Identity in Caribbean Slave Society. In Hilary Beckles & Verene Shepherd (eds.), *Caribbean Slave Society and Economy: A Student Reader*. Kingston: Ian Randle/London: James Currey, pp. 150-59.

TEENSTRA, M.D., 1836-37. *De Nederlandsche West-Indische eilanden*. 2 vols. Amsterdam: Sulpke.

TROUILLOT, MICHEL-ROLPH, 1992. The Inconvenience of Freedom: Free People of Color and the Political Aftermath of Slavery in Dominica and Saint-Domingue/Haiti. In Frank McGlynn & Seymour Drescher (eds.), *The Meaning of Freedom: Economics, Politics, and Culture after Slavery*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, pp. 147-82.

VISMAN, M.A., 1981. Van slaaf tot plantagehouder: een aspect van het 18e eeuwse plantagewezens op Curaçao. *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 55:39-51.

WIM KLOOSTER
Center for Non-Western Studies/IGEER
Rijksuniversiteit Leiden
Doelensteeg 16
2300 RA Leiden, the Netherlands

KEVIN A. YELVINGTON

THE POLITICS OF REPRESENTING THE AFRICAN DIASPORA
IN THE CARIBBEAN

Roots of Jamaican Culture. MERVYN C. ALLEYNE. London: Pluto Press, 1988. xii + 186 pp. (Paper US\$ 15.95)

Guinea's Other Suns: The African Dynamic in Trinidad Culture. MAUREEN WARNER-LEWIS. Foreword by Rex Nettleford. Dover MA: The Majority Press, 1991. xxii + 207 pp. (Paper US\$ 9.95)

A recent trend in anthropology is defined by the interest in the role of historical and political configurations in the constitution of local cultural practices. Unfortunately, with some notable individual exceptions, this is the same anthropology which has largely ignored the Caribbean and its "Islands of History."¹ Of course, this says much, much more about the way in which anthropology constructs its subject than it says about the merits of the Caribbean case and the fundamental essence of these societies, born as they were in the unforgiving and defining moment of pervasive, persuasive, and pernicious European construction of "Otherness." As Trouillot (1992:22) writes, "Whereas anthropology prefers 'pre-contact' situations – or creates 'no-contact' situations – the Caribbean is nothing but contact." If the anthropological fiction of pristine societies, uninfluenced and uncontaminated by "outside" and more powerful structures and cultures cannot be supported for the Caribbean, then many anthropologists do one or both of the two anthropologically next best things: they take us on a journey that finds us exploding the "no-contact" myth over and over (I think it is called "strawpersonism"), suddenly discovering political economy, history, and colonialism, and/or they end up constructing the "pristine" anyway by emphasizing those parts of a diaspora group's pre-Caribbean culture that are thought to remain as cultural "survivals."

Whereas the issues are the same, the stakes (epistemological as well as political) are somewhat higher for those defined as "native scholars" – even if native scholar is not an unproblematic definition in the Caribbean (see Trouillot 1992:24-25). The stakes are higher because so much of theoretical debate has turned on the issue of the native scholar's supposed ideological baggage and class and ethnic affiliation (for an early discussion, see Pearse 1956:134-35). And the stakes are higher still for those of us ("native" and "foreign") studying diaspora groups within Caribbean "nations." For the native ethnographer, as Carnegie (1992:20) argues,

Nationalism becomes a double curse: Even as it urges its observer-scholar to survey all from the deck of the capital's centralized promontory, it also draws with narrow sharpness the boundaries within which they might focus. The imagined national community, given form by geography, constrains the native ethnographer as tenaciously as the geography of the former empire determined the varieties of exotic others that their own anthropologists could sample.

In Williams's cogent model (1990, 1991), Caribbean nationalism (and, I would add, that of much of the New World) is characterized by competition among ethnic groups to dominate the discourse that determines which group has contributed most to the building of "the nation," a process involving the claims to cultural distinctiveness as "proof" of these contributions. And this is in spite of (or better, accomplished through) national mottoes such as Jamaica's "Out of many, one people" and Trinidad's "Together we aspire, together we achieve" that would appear to preclude such claims of distinctiveness but which really become vehicles (and there are many others) through which the "real" culture of the nation can be defined, promulgated, and displayed.

I recognize the politics of "native" versus "foreign" scholars and how either may use their status as a weapon (see Dominguez 1986). Yet I point out this distinction here for two reasons – first, because Mervyn Alleyne (pp. ix-x) and Maureen Warner-Lewis (pp. xix-xxi), both Trinidadians who work at the University of the West Indies in Jamaica, refer to themselves as part of the societies they are studying and attempt to reach those therein engaged in the process of self-definition, and secondly because both authors avowedly seek (although in somewhat different ways) to establish through historical and anthropological data and theoretical models the "African" cultural contribution to Caribbean nations. Thus, these books are something more than academic exercises. They can be read as sustained responses to colonial *and* anthropological notions that New World Africans had/have no culture of their own. At the same time, they can also be read as both criticisms of the construction of "non-ethnicity" (e.g., the national mottoes) by

the post-colonial multi-ethnic state and, paradoxically, as part of nationalist discourse that seeks to provide an anthropological basis for legitimate and authentic national culture.

Early on in his book, Alleyne states that he is concerned to explore "the African contribution to the culture of Jamaica" (p. vii, although he hedges somewhat later on, p. 57) by examining the aspects of contemporary Jamaican culture that have parallels in West Africa and by looking at the "transmission of what I shall call an African culture in Jamaica." While acknowledging that various ethnic groups have "contributed to the Jamaican cultural mosaic," he says that the descendants of African slaves "played a central role in this creative process." Moreover, this group "is demographically the largest, and it is the reservoir and agent of what is most distinctive and defining about Jamaican culture" (p. vii). Further, he endeavors to show that it is not just a generalized "Africanness" but that "In Jamaica one African ethnic group (the Twi) provided political and cultural leadership" (p. ix). Thus, like Haiti and Cuba, Jamaica is a place where "one African people dominated and assimilated others" (pp. 18-19).

Alleyne places himself squarely within the debate on "continuities" and "creation" – that is, between those who see the cultures of blacks in the Americas as basically continuities of African cultural forms or as created on the spot – and thus cannot transcend this debate. Culture creationists, he claims, must hold that important cultural and ethnic divisions existed between enslaved Africans and that "African culture" was not able to withstand slavery and its attendant murderous processes. He comes down unequivocally on the continuities side, drawing (uncritically in my view) on Melville Herskovits for sustenance and sparring with those like Sidney Mintz and Richard Price whom he charges with supporting the hypothesis that Africans were stripped of their culture during and after the Middle Passage and slavery. Yet Alleyne's view is very similar to Mintz and Price's – which they themselves acknowledge (1992:viii) – and he shares with his supposed adversaries the idea that there was an underlying cultural unity that transcended West African ethnic differences, which continues to be manifest beneath the level of consciousness.² Warner-Lewis, citing Alleyne's earlier work, supports this view (p. 159).

In apparently seeking to revamp (or resuscitate) Herskovits by incorporating the notion that West African culture was "to a large degree one system" (p. 7; see also pp. 19 and 50, for example), Alleyne endeavors in Chapter 1 to develop his own model of cultural contact and cultural change. He rightly urges throughout the book that we take a historical perspective on culture. However, his theoretical approach cannot logically incorporate such a perspective. For example, he develops (pp. 23-27) the concepts of

"base" and "target" cultural forms, where "When two cultures are in contact, acculturation and assimilation can be seen as a movement away from the base towards the target" (p. 24) – a "target," we find out moreover, which "has been constantly changing over the years and centuries" (p. 26). Yet the very concept of a "base" *presupposes* a (historically distinct) "target," and thus is anything but historical. Relatedly, Alleyne posits that, even though some individuals and groups in Jamaica practice more African continuities than others (such as the religions of the slaves versus those of the Maroons, p. 85), "the main trend in situations of contact between Europeans and Africans in the New World is for the subject culture to undergo progressive loss or decay" where this loss is "rapid but gradual," in "both its inner form and in its outward manifestations" (p. 25). But the notion of continuities (read survivals) which can only suffer "loss or decay" undercuts any notion that culture is made and remade – that is, that culture is *historical*. Later in the book (pp. 146-48), he gives the example of Rastafarianism as a continuity, but anyone familiar with the origins of Rastafarianism in 1930s Jamaica will see it as a readily identifiable, meaningful "invented tradition."³ Thus, his approach is hardly anthropological as it considers no emic perspective on the construction and invention of "Africanness" in Jamaica.

Further, we have no idea what historical process or structure acts to produce cultural loss or decay, except for concepts that are inimical to his main tenets. For example, there is the perfectly reasonable proposition that "the distribution of power is the chief factor determining the direction, nature, and intensity of cultural change," which, "as in the case of slavery, results in massive cultural change in the subject group" which must adopt some of the dominant cultural forms (pp. 13-14). However, these statements contradict his earlier proclamations against the culture stripping and creation hypotheses. Indeed, he is quite hostile to the idea that, through resistance, slaves created a culture of their own (pp. 19-20), acknowledging, though, that "True, there was an important link between religion and resistance, but religion was taken to Jamaica from Africa and was an important basis for resistance; it was not created during the course of that resistance" (pp. 21-22) – a view which, in any case, he contradicts later (p. 91). So Alleyne's way out of evidence that points to the impossibility of continuity and the likelihood of creation is to argue that creativity is itself a continuity: "Afro-American culture is no more and no less creative than other New World cultures. The kind of creativity demonstrated by Afro-Americans is probably a legacy of Africa" (p. 22). And this after stating without irony: "Needless to say, it is often difficult to say for sure whether a particular cultural form is a 'continuity' or a 'creation'" (p. 22). Thus, Alleyne's theoretical apparatus is wrought with teologies, contradictions, and caveats. It renders almost meaningless

his potentially valuable theoretical concept of a "continuum of cultural differentiation" (pp. 7, 15-16).

After two chapters designed to prove the provenance of Jamaica's Africans, there are three very rich chapters based on secondary sources, "African Religion in Jamaica," "Music and Dance," and "Language" – in which examples of dominant cultural forms are traced to the different Africans from the area of the Gold Coast (now Ghana), which Alleyne subsumes under the designation Akan, who spoke closely related dialects or mutually intelligible languages like Twi and who practiced aspects of a common culture (pp. 44-49). While there were a number of other groups, Gold Coast Africans became dominant, although he variously describes differences between the groups as "superficial" (p. 71) and as "sharp" (p. 122) for the same period. I am not sure why (or how) such contributions can be distinguished (e.g., Akan versus Yoruba) if there was so much of an underlying unity among West African peoples. Nevertheless, while he often makes culture stand for language, his main contribution is his discussion of the African influence on the structure of Jamaican English (pp. 65-68, Chapter 6) and it is here where some of his earlier theoretical propositions are justified.

Warner-Lewis, too, focuses on language (but also much more), especially the Yoruba language and culture in Trinidad's history. But in addition to being sensitive to her own upbringing in multicultural Trinidad (pp. xix-xxi), she is careful to point out that if "this collection gives the impression that by 'African' is meant 'Yoruba,' then I must again caution against such a facile interpretation," stating that "it would be a distortion to conclude, at this stage of investigation, that Trinidad's African heritage is either exclusively Yoruba or overwhelmingly so." She also indicates that her ongoing work on Congo speech and songs "may produce a somewhat different picture than appears at present" (pp. xx). Indeed, later she provides examples of conceptual links with other African cultures (e.g., pp. 112, 132) and practices (p. 117), and traces Yoruba consciousness of pan-African links (pp. 126-27).

Guinea's Other Suns, a collection of previously-published and unpublished papers, is based on Warner-Lewis's oral history research in Trinidad mainly between 1966 and 1972 among the grandchildren (and even children) of the thousands of Africans brought to Trinidad as indentured workers after the end of slavery (see Chapter 3). This painstaking research is bolstered by her knowledge of the Yoruba language in addition to her deft use of contemporary nineteenth-century sources and secondary historical sources for both the Caribbean and West Africa. Weaving these sources together involves some crafty detective work. The rich data that these methods reveal will make many of us question our views on the post-emancipation colonial Caribbean.

For instance, in her long excellent chapter entitled "Africans in Nineteenth-Century Trinidad," she points to distinctions among Africans and shows how ethnic hostilities in Africa, for example between Hausa and Yoruba, were played out in Trinidad. But she also points to evidence of creative interaction between such groups and their conflict with creole society: Africans not only had to accommodate to white colonial norms but to black creole society as well. In this regard, her discussion of African domestic space arrangements giving way to creole forms (pp. 42-43, 48) is important for showing the everyday practice that constituted creole culture, as well as religious practices (p. 51) and others (pp. 53-55). She also maintains that African Muslims had little or no religious interchange with East Indian Muslims, but this conclusion may be premature, as another reviewer has also argued (Schuler 1992:244-45).

The main corpus of her study is a collection of poems, songs, and chants in the Yoruba language gleaned from Trinidadian informants. Through these media, her informants "remembered" not only wars in Africa but the experience of exile, as in the lament (p. 89):

<i>Mo gbèdèrè</i>	I speak the language of strangers
<i>Mo gbé àrè o</i>	I live among strangers

Focusing on semantics as well as meaning, she analyzes in detail the structure and use of allusion and metaphor in virtually every song, poem, and chant she provides. This allows her to show the cultural work involved as Africans and their descendants passed down language as well as ideas. It also allows her to interpret how these contributed to other cultural forms, from the consciousness-raising of the Garvey movement (pp. 72, 74), to the present-day attempts to purge Christian elements from the Orisha religion, to the African tradition of masking and its relation to Carnival, to Yoruba and other African phraseology as the basis of Trinidad Creole language and the calypso, and even to alms-giving traditions as a basis for modern social work.

While she speaks of "African culture overseas" being "retained by way of ritual act and secular mores" (p. 113), pointing to "African survival elements" (p. 79), nowhere does she bring theory to bear on the nature of these "survivals." Her theory, instead, remains dangerously implicit. This is not to say that her data do not present more than plausible explanations of cultural traditions. But the data, used for purposes more sinister than Warner-

Lewis's, might give impetus to "prove" African cultural continuities and to justify the legitimacy of "African" culture – at the expense of others – in the national context. In the delicate words of the poet laureate,

Break a vase, and the love that reassembles the fragments is stronger than that love which took its symmetry for granted when it was whole. The glue that fits the pieces is the sealing of its original shape. It is such a love that reassembles our African and Asiatic fragments, the cracked heirlooms whose restoration shows its white scars. This gathering of broken pieces is the care and pain of the Antilles, and if the pieces are disparate, ill-fitting, they contain more pain than their original sculpture, those icons and sacred vessels taken for granted in their ancestral places. Antillean art is this restoration of our shattered histories, our shards of vocabulary, our archipelago becoming a synonym for pieces broken off from the original continent (Walcott 1993:8-9)

NOTES

1. The phrase is Marshall D. Sahlins's (1985).
2. Mintz and Price (1992:9-10) state that: "An African cultural heritage, widely shared by the people imported into any new colony, will have to be defined in less concrete terms, by focusing more on values, and less on sociocultural forms, and even by attempting to identify unconscious 'grammatical' principles, which may underlie and shape behavioral response."
3. The term is Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's (1983).

REFERENCES

- CARNEGIE, CHARLES V., 1992. The Fate of Ethnography: Native Social Science in the English-Speaking Caribbean. *New West Indian Guide* 66:5-25.
- DOMINGUEZ, VIRGINIA R., 1986. Intended and Unintended Messages: The Scholarly Defense of One's People. *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids/New West Indian Guide* 60:209-22.
- HOBBSAWM, ERIC & TERENCE RANGER (eds.), 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MINTZ, SIDNEY W. & RICHARD PRICE, 1992. *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- PEARSE, ANDREW, 1956. Ethnography and the Lay Scholar in the Caribbean. *West-Indische Gids* 36:133-46.
- SAHLINS, MARSHALL D., 1985. *Islands of History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- SCHULER, MONICA, 1992. Review of *Guinea's Other Suns: The African Dynamic in Trinidad Culture* by Maureen Warner-Lewis. *Social and Economic Studies* 41:243-46.
- TROUILLLOT, MICHEL-ROLPH, 1992. The Caribbean Region: An Open Frontier in Anthropological Theory. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21:19-42.

WALCOTT, DEREK. 1993. *The Antilles: Fragments of Epic Memory*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

WILLIAMS, BRACKETTE F., 1990. Nationalism, Traditionalism, and the Problem of Cultural Inauthenticity. In Richard Fox (ed.), *Nationalist Ideologies and the Production of National Cultures*. Washington DC: American Anthropological Association, pp. 112-29.

———, 1991. *Stains on My Name, War in My Veins: Guyana and the Politics of Cultural Struggle*. Durham: Duke University Press.

KEVIN A. YELVINGTON
Department of Anthropology
University of South Florida
Tampa FL 33420, U.S.A.

PETER MASON

BEFORE AND AFTER COLUMBUS

Columbus and the Ends of the Earth: Europe's Prophetic Rhetoric As Conquering Ideology. DJELAL KADIR. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992. xiv + 256 pp. (Cloth US\$ 30.00)

The Imaginative Landscape of Christopher Columbus. VALERIE I.J. FLINT. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992. xx + 233 pp. (Cloth US\$ 30.00)

Terra Cognita: The Mental Discovery of America. EVIATAR ZERUBAVEL. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992. xiv + 164 pp. (Cloth US\$ 17.00)

Imagining the World: Mythical Belief versus Reality in Global Encounters. O.R. DATHORNE. Westport CT: Bergin & Garvey, 1994. x + 241 pp. (Cloth US\$ 49.95)

Three of the books under review were published in 1992, and each of them approaches the significance of Columbus's landfall 500 years earlier in a different way. What they have in common, as their titles and subtitles indicate, is that they all purport to be about a mental framework – an “imaginative landscape” (Flint), a “mental discovery” (Zerubavel), “Europe's prophetic rhetoric as conquering ideology” (Kadir), or “imagining the world” (Dathorne). The 1992 commemoration led to a flood of books on Columbus and on the discovery of America. Now that the commotion has died down, it becomes easier to separate the wheat from the chaff, to distinguish between occasional publications hastily put together for the occasion, and solid contributions to scholarship which, while never immune to their own times, may be expected to retain a value that is more than temporary.

With this proviso in mind, we can dispense with Dathorne's volume in a few words. As the author himself claims in the introduction, he was "not seeking to research one narrow area to death," and the notions that he expresses "may not at times satisfy the whimsies of the expert." This is no false modesty, but an understatement: hardly one of the 190 pages of main text is free of errors, ranging from inaccuracies, misspellings, and misleading comments to sheer howlers (though some of the blame must lie with the failure of his publisher to have the text edited for publication). Dathorne is almost completely at the mercy of the secondary sources on which he relies, combining their insights in an undigested farrago of disconnected statements. On one of the very few occasions when he actually quotes a primary source (the well-known passage from Seneca's *Medea* mentioned below), what he refers to as his own rough translation leaves one feeling that the virtues of his originality hardly outweigh the violence that it does to the rules of Latin syntax.

To turn from the slipshod presentation to the argument itself, this boils down to the thesis, which is reasonable enough in itself, that European perceptions of the Americas were colored by European preconceptions about what one might expect to find there. Couching the discussion in terms of an opposition between "mythical belief" and "reality" raises epistemological problems which cannot be dealt with in the brief space of this review. Not only is Dathorne oblivious to such considerations, however, but he does not even explicate what he means by "mythical belief" and "reality" at all. The former is simply taken to mean references in ancient and medieval sources to beings whose existence is no longer given credence, such as the monstrous human races of Pliny and others, while the latter is implicitly equated with the dictates of common sense. In other words, the argument is teleological, ending, with the last words of the book, in "a final triumph of the human spirit!" Though it is the most recent of the four volumes under review in terms of its publication date, Dathorne's *Imagining the World* is as hopelessly outdated as it is incompetent.

In disciplinary terms, the other three books are written from the various preserves and perspectives of sociology, history, and comparative literature. One of the best ways of comparing the efficacy of these different approaches is perhaps to plunge *in medias res* and to select a topic on which each of the three writers has something to say: Columbus's third voyage.

Zerubavel's argument can be summed up in a single sentence. As he puts it, "America was not discovered on a single day by Columbus (or by anyone else, for that matter)." But if one were to want to date the discovery of the new continent, he continues, defining a continent as "a large chunk of continuous landmass," then it is not Columbus's landfall in 1492 which should

be celebrated, but August 5, 1498, the day he first landed on the Paria Peninsula in Venezuela on his third voyage. No longer able to fit this new continent into the familiar image of the Asian mainland, Columbus's solution was to identify South America as the Earthly Paradise, which was situated in the East on Biblical authority.

Flint devotes a whole chapter to the theme of the Terrestrial Paradise. After quoting long passages from the letter that Columbus wrote to his sovereigns as he returned from the third voyage – a voyage which began in elation and ended in disgrace – she deals one by one with the extraordinary propositions it contains. Far from being the incoherent ramblings of a physically and mentally racked voyager, she argues, they all fit into place within the background of medieval lore with which Columbus must have been familiar. This emerges clearly from the naming activities of the Admiral. The first new island that he sighted on this voyage was called Trinidad, perhaps indicating a connection with the voyage of St. Brendan. Golfo de la Ballena (Gulf of the Whale) Columbus's name for what is now the Gulf of Paria, also brings to mind an episode in the St. Brendan story, Flint suggests. (Brendan and his men land on an island and light a fire on it, at which the island turns out to be a whale!) Boca de la Sierpe (Serpent's Mouth) and Bocas del Dragón (Dragon's Mouths) might recall a sea monster from the same source. El Romero (The Pilgrim) might be a reference to the pilgrim St. Ailbe, referred to in the Life of Brendan. The stories of St. Brendan are not the only source of the Admiral's Adam-like naming activities. Thus Flint finds a source for Los Testigos (The Witnesses) in the two prophetic witnesses of the Apocalypse (11: 3-12). As for the Terrestrial Paradise itself, many of Columbus's details could have been taken from the work of Pierre d'Ailly, though there are other medieval sources, such as the Travels of Sir John Mandeville and the Chronicle of John of Marignolli, that may have been the channel through which some of these ideas reached Columbus.

To turn to Kadir's comments on the third voyage, he interprets it as pivotal in understanding Columbus's self-conception as the divine instrument in the eschatological plot of providential history. The name Trinidad is but part of the triadic scheme with which this third voyage seems to be permeated: Columbus reflects on his first voyage as having taken thirty-three days and having covered 333 leagues; now on the third voyage he discovers the mainland after having gone without sleep for thirty-three days; and at the end of the voyage he takes the Franciscan garb of the Third Order on his way to Granada. The toponyms are a part of the same vision of prophetic fulfilment. Kadir sees the source of the dragons and serpents in the monsters of the Old Testament and of the Apocalypse. Indeed, Columbus has no need of sources besides the books of the Old and New Testament to convince

himself that he could be nowhere but East and West of everywhere at once, "the end of the East where all land and islands ends" (p. 145).

As these various approaches to the third voyage indicate, Columbus is in fact a useful peg on which to hang much broader narratives relating to such diverse themes as the *Nachleben* of the classical tradition, the age of discovery, the history of cartography, the rise of natural history, and a host of others. Kadir (pp. 147-48) sums up the reasons why Columbus is such a malleable character as follows:

He is most fascinating as interstitial character, constantly verging on the brink of one or another orthodoxy, without quite managing to free himself from the diverse traditions that exert their claims on him, traditions that range from the prophetic primitivism of the Hebraic patriarchs to the apocalyptic end-time of Christian millenarianism. An ancient spiritualist, he is also a medieval enthusiast and a Renaissance cosmologist. It is not that he oscillates from one of these poles to another, if these indeed be poles rather than continuities, but that these constellations coexist in him in simultaneity.

It is this Protean pluriformity of Columbus that accounts for the richness of two of the books under review: two professors of humanities go back to the ancient world of the Greeks, Romans, and Jews to trace some of the shaping influences on Columbus's worldview and on how his achievements themselves were seen by others.

First, however, we can be brief in discussing the book – or rather essay – by Zerubavel, a sociologist. The first part of the thesis that he sets out to defend is unobjectionable enough: Columbus was not the first European to discover America, credit on that score probably being due to Norse discoverers of "Vinland" around the year 1000. However, Zerubavel goes on to argue that Columbus did not in fact "discover" it at all – that credit belongs to a long line of Italian, Spanish, French, Portuguese, Russian, and British explorers who came after him. For Zerubavel, discovering a new continent requires recognition of that continent's singularity and of its total separateness as a land mass. Since it was not until James Cook reached the Bering Strait in 1778 that the possibility that Asia and America might be connected could be ruled out once and for all, what Zerubavel calls "the mental discovery of America by Europe" was not fully completed until 286 years after Columbus's landing in the Bahamas.

This fixation on straits as the defining mark of a continent is peculiar. After all, it would be rather difficult to distinguish Europe from Asia by this criterium. However, the strangest of Zerubavel's geographical conceptions is the distinction he draws between the small group of islands that Columbus discovered on his first voyage, on the one hand, and "what we now call America (see Plate 30)," on the other. The reader who turns to Plate 30 will

find a map of ... North and Central America, with South America stopping in the middle of Venezuela!

The evidence that Zerubavel cites to support his teleological view of the discovery of America is almost entirely cartographic. This fixation on maps, however, only tells a small part of the story. For example, while some features of some maps no doubt prompted Columbus to believe that he had reached Asia (the first chapter of Flint's book is very good on identifying these maps), it was a wide range of other observations pertaining to ethnography, linguistics, and natural history which (understandably) confirmed him in this view. Unless this other material is considered as well, or at least mentioned, Columbus is inevitably presented in a more irrational way than he deserves.

It is a relief to pass from Zerubavel's superficial and repetitive remarks to the scholarly works by Flint and Kadir. Both authors demonstrate a mastery of the relevant texts, all of which have been consulted in the original where possible (contrast the total absence of works written in any language besides English in Zerubavel's bibliography). Kadir's readings are extremely close, and for a reason: as he points out, the grammatical and rhetorical scansions of a text are not just pedantic nit-picking – they may well disclose the particular logic at work. In fact, before examining Kadir's work in more detail, it is worth pointing out a project with which it has much in common: Michel de Certeau's plan to treat American travel narratives at the intersection of history and anthropology. De Certeau (1993) associated a semiotic analysis of documents with a historical problematic; he was fascinated by the travel literature relating to the Americas, haunted by the Other; and eminently at home in the literature of mysticism, which inscribed the space of the Other in a different mode.

As one moves through Kadir's pages, the undertaking itself faithfully reflects the reiterative narrative of Columbus's cosmic career. From beginning to end, the latter is presented as oscillating between grandeur and humility, and at each stage of the pendular swing, the extremes move farther out, describing an arc of greater proportions. The most poignant expression of this movement can be found in Kadir's concluding chapter, in which he discusses the drafts of Columbus's memoranda to court which are now in the archives of the House of Alba. Drawing on Greenblatt's notion of "self-fashioning," Kadir analyzes the importance of words like "but," "rather," and "or," as well as the shifts from second person to first person to third person in these texts as a form of self-fashioning, self-fragmentation, or even self-negation, measuring the abyss between Columbus's prophetic calling and what he regarded as his betrayal by justice.

What was this prophetic calling? Kadir argues that Columbus conceived of his project as a part of providentialist history. This history is purposive

and meaningful within a teleology: events recounted in the Old Testament are interpreted as presaging what is to come within the framework of a divine plan of history that is to run its course. The end of this course – its eschatology – is at the same time its revelation or apocalypse. In other words, the meaningful end of history was precisely that: an end. And just as the movement of teleology and providentialism looked forwards to that end, so the eschatological goal could only be understood by reference to what had gone before, to what made it a goal at all. A key device within this construct is the notion of typology. The typological mode is a New Testament instrument by which all pre-Christian history is refigured as the *type* which reaches its consummation in the Christian *antitype*. In this sense, it is a method of exegesis by which all previous history is revised in the light of, as an adumbration of, the truths of the New Testament.

The particular relevance of all this to Columbus is that this movement in time also has a geographical aspect. The ends of time coincide with the revelation of the ends of the earth. This is what explains the link between Columbus's *Libro de las Profecias* and his voyages of discovery. They both marked the end of millennial aspirations, and mutually reinforced one another's significance.

Not only does this hermeneutic interpretive scheme throw considerable light on the figure of Columbus. Kadir (p. 97, n.40) argues for far-reaching continuities over a period of more than a century, demonstrating – once again through close textual analysis – that many aspects of Columbus's relation to the divine also mark the writings of the seventeenth-century Puritans in New England. To quote:

I would own that "American Genesis" is embedded in scripture, the Genesis of scripture that underlies the foundations of a teleological ideology and an apocalyptic narrative that authorized, in turn, the productive scripture of the charters that engender a territorial reality for their own conquering ends even before its geographic discovery.

In fulfilment of eschatological desire, the New World was thus consubstantial with the Promised Land. The rhetorical injunctions of prophetic ideology were held to justify the project of conquest and colonization. Indeed, this explains why Columbus could be issued *capitulaciones* which envisaged conquest before the New World had even been discovered. For the conquest was already underway before any geographical encounter; in this strange, anti-historical, prophetic tradition, America is prophesied – and therefore called into being – before it is found. Thus, as Kadir (p. 61) formulates it: "The American New World is ultimately a product of rhetorical ideology, of a nominalist discourse, a linguistic injunction."

Many of the Biblical sources quoted by Kadir crop up again in Flint's

book, but in her study they rub shoulders with a variety of other texts, some located within the Biblical tradition, others coming from the pagan world. In her patient reconstruction of the sources of Columbus's imaginative landscape, she begins by breaking them down into three categories. There are the maps, containing graphic information not just about the lay of the land but also, in some cases, about the people and animals who inhabit it. Second, there are the books which are known to have been in Columbus's possession and which we know that he read, since they contain his marginal annotations. Third, there is a looser body of material – sea stories – which may have been in the air when Columbus set out, though it is harder, if not impossible, to demonstrate that he was familiar with, say, the stories of Sinbad the Sailor. Then, in the second half of the book, Flint shows time and time again that these were the sources that went into the making of Columbus's conceptions of the Marvels of the East and of the Terrestrial Paradise. In the final chapter, she singles out a particularly neglected source – the *Summula Confessionis* by the Dominican Antoninus Florentius – in an attempt to explain what she calls the “creative tension” (p. 191) between Columbus's worldly desires and his otherworldly aspirations.

As we saw above, Flint deals with a much wider range of sources than Kadir. In particular, it is worth noting the importance she attaches to the stories associated with St. Brendan, a sixth-century abbot from Galway, which were available in a variety of vernaculars by Columbus's time. The suggestion is certainly attractive, especially in view of Columbus's interest in Galway and the possible connections he took to exist between Galway and the Orient after the discovery of two corpses there which he considered to be Chinese. Though Flint herself is puzzled by the name “insula purificatorium,” Island of the Purified, on the so-called Columbus World Map, we might perhaps see in it a reflection of the souls purified in purgatory whom Brendan was said to have encountered on his voyage. Another theme from the Brendan stories, that of the world under the sea, reflects concern with the controversial question of the existence of the Antipodes, which exercised not only Columbus's imagination but also the minds of the members of the Talavera Commission who refused Columbus's request for aid.

As these examples indicate, casting one's net wider can bring in a greater variety of sources, but, as a corollary, it can become harder to demonstrate their direct connections with the Admiral. A case in point is Sir John Mandeville's book of travels. Though there is no firm evidence that Columbus ever read it, this immensely popular work offers so many points of contact with passages in Columbus's writings that it is at any rate implausible to suppose that he was not familiar, in some form or other, with its contents. Yet so many of the sources Flint quotes were involved in a complex network

of filiation, cross-reference, or even downright plagiarism that we cannot always be sure exactly which source he is drawing on. While Columbus could have taken much of his fantastic ethnography from Mandeville's account of the East, he could have found plenty of this material, as Flint points out, in D'Ailly. And some of the details of the Terrestrial Paradise, though they could have been taken from Mandeville or D'Ailly, may come from yet another source: the Chronicle of John of Marignolli.

The important role that Flint assigns to this John of Marignolli is partly based on her careful scrutiny of the *Libro Copiador*, a sixteenth-century copybook of letters by Columbus that was only published for the first time in 1989. She also reports that a new edition of the *Libro de las Profecias* was in preparation at the time of writing (West & King 1991). Some classical scholars have also recently begun to turn their attention to the Columbian corpus, such as his use of Seneca's *Medea* in the *Libro de las Profecias*. Even now, 500 years after Columbus, new discoveries are still being made which may entail revision of the imaginary landscapes that existed both before and after Columbus. And, following in the wake of Kadir's semiotic voyage, close reading of these texts, new and old, can be a powerful instrument, not only in coming to terms with their colonial burden, but also in helping to dismantle – or at least deconstruct – their ideological carapace.

REFERENCES

DE CERTEAU, MICHEL, 1993. Travel Narratives of the French to Brazil: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries. In Stephen Greenblatt (ed.), *New World Encounters*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 323-28.

WEST, DELNO C. & AUGUST KING (eds. & trans.), 1991. *The "Libro de las Profecias" of Christopher Columbus: an "en face" edition*. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida.

PETER MASON
Lauriergracht 116
1016 RR Amsterdam, the Netherlands

BOOK REVIEWS

New World Encounters. STEPHEN GREENBLATT (ed.). Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993. xviii + 344 pp. (Cloth US\$ 15.00)

PETER HULME
Department of Literature
University of Essex
Colchester CO4 3SQ, England.

Like several other successful journals, *Representations* now has a book series which reprints essays that first appeared in its pages. *New World Encounters* is the sixth collection to appear, and it draws its material mostly from the special issue of Winter 1991 (ten essays), supplemented by three earlier pieces. The volume is a timely reminder of the strengths of the work associated with *Representations* and of the commitment of the journal to American studies in the widest sense of the term, although the emphasis here tends toward encounters that took place at points south of what is now the U.S.A.

What distinguishes these essays, Stephen Greenblatt suggests in the introduction, is a rejection of what he calls "the vision of the victors," the colonialist apologetics that characterized much scholarship in the colonial field at least until the early 1970s. By contrast *New World Encounters* is concerned with what Nathan Wachtel called "the vision of the vanquished" although, in a now familiar paradox, that "vision" has largely to be read through the very texts in which achievements of the European colonial project are celebrated, or at least described. This need to read against the grain ensures that the essays here belong to the textualist trend with which *Representations* is so closely associated. Most, however, reveal themselves as

aware of the need to ground their readings in the density of the various historical contexts in which the encounters take place. The book is dedicated to the memory of Michel de Certeau and contains a translation of a research proposal he once put forward for an ambitious study of travel narratives of the French to Brazil.

There are four essays that are likely to be of special interest to Caribbeanists. Margarita Zamora introduces (briefly) and translates into English Columbus's "Letter to the Sovereigns," dated March 4, 1493 and announcing the results of his voyage across the Atlantic, a letter which was only published for the first time in 1989 after turning up in somewhat mysterious circumstances. The translation also appears in Zamora's excellent study, *Reading Columbus* (1993), and another English translation by Barry Ife (1992) now exists. As yet there has been little scholarly discussion of the significance of this new find.

Anthony Pagden offers a consideration of one of the area's most prolific writers, Bartolomé de Las Casas, which focuses on the authorial voice in Las Casas's text – in other words, on how an author like Las Casas can make good through his use of rhetorical forms his claims to special authority as an eye-witness to the events he describes. The rhetoric of witness is a complicated matter, as Pagden shows: it takes skill at writing in order to convince a reader, and yet manifest skill is likely to be read as a sign of falsification. Always the defender of innocence, Las Casas claims that his very lack of eloquence is proof of his sincerity and therefore of the accuracy of his account. Although Las Casas has been celebrated (and reviled) at some length, and his life and work have been subjects of learned study, there is little informed ethnographic or literary reading of his texts. Pagden's essay (expanded in his 1993 book) makes a useful start.

Somewhat strangely, Raleigh's *The Discoverie of Guiana* is awarded two essays. Louis Montrose's "The Work of Gender in the Discourse of the Discovery" is one of the very best of the New Historicist essays and is likely to remain a landmark in studies of colonial discourse, providing an exemplary analysis of the textual complexities that mark works such as *The Discoverie of Guiana*, so often read for their supposedly extractable ethnographic or historical "content." Of special interest is Montrose's reading of how the masculinist discourse of adventure is framed and complicated by its address to the Virgin Queen. The second essay, by Mary C. Fuller, is an interesting companion piece, but without Montrose's range of reference or force of argument.

The remaining essays are all of high quality. Special mention might be made of Inga Clendinnen's reading of Cortés's conquest of Mexico through a consideration of the differences between Spanish and Aztec notions of

warfare and David Quint's wide-ranging discussion of the topos of the epic curse in which the vanquished are allowed to prophesy the doom of the victors.

REFERENCES

- IFE, B.W. (ed. & trans.), 1992. *Letters from America: Columbus's First Accounts of the 1492 Voyage*. London: King's College London School of Humanities.
- PAGDEN, ANTHONY, 1993. *European Encounters with the New World*. New Haven: Yale University Press
- ZAMORA, MARGARITA, 1993. *Reading Columbus*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

The Radical Imagination: Lectures and Talks by Wilson Harris. ALAN RIACH & MARK WILLIAMS (eds.). Liège: Department of English, University of Liège, 1992. xx + 126 pp. (Paper £9.95, US\$ 19.00)

NIGEL RIGBY
Wasafiri
University of Kent at Canterbury
Kent CT2 7XB, England

The Radical Imagination brings together a talk by Wilson Harris at the University of Cambridge in 1989, an interview by the Scottish poet Alan Riach in 1990, the four 1990 Smuts Memorial Fund Commonwealth Lectures at the University of Cambridge, and finally, a lecture given by Harris at the University of Liège in 1991. Harris illustrates his lectures and talks with a range of his novels, and the book traces his artistic imagination through the often complex web of themes and symbols that have shaped his fiction. *The Radical Imagination* begins with an analysis of the opening image in his first novel, *The Palace of the Peacock* (1960), and Harris's discussion of Donne's death is clear and illuminating, unravelling the densely packed layers of the image. More importantly, Harris's concentration on Donne's dead seeing eye and living closed eye establishes the centrality of an intuitive vision to an understanding of Harris's art.

Harris describes the writing of his novel as a "re-visionary" process. By this he means that during the readings of his first drafts he finds images that appear "to have been planted by another hand" (p. 17); Harris sees these images coming from an "intuitive imagination," from an unconscious self

which bridges the past, present, and future. It is a measure of his confidence as a writer that he redrafts to develop the connections which these images suggest, trusting his intuition and "re-visioning" the work accordingly. In a sense, Harris appears to edit the complexity into his enigmatic novels, although he describes the process as the novels editing themselves. The editors of this volume, Alan Riach and Mark Williams, have similarly revised the lectures with the intention of producing "a text which reflected the intricate spiralling of Harris's thought and the interconnecting nature of his logic, which continually reiterates and revises itself" (p. 15). The ongoing reiteration and revision does give the reader an occasional feeling of *déjà vu*, and I am not sure if I would always agree with their claim that Harris approaches the same areas from different angles, but the restatements do clarify his ideas, and show where one idea connects with another.

Harris is particularly concerned to attack the nihilistic preoccupations of the modern world, and the main theme of his work, as the editors point out, is the need to regenerate the creative imagination through a universal vision that finds a depth through the past and present of all cultures. He builds bridges to the past and between cultures and myths, giving his world an integrity and depth of reality that he sees as missing in the post-modern perception of a shallow, fragmented social reality.

What I find particularly suggestive, among many provocative images in the book, is the ancient alchemists' theory, to which Harris refers in the third Smuts Lecture, of an intercourse between an inner and outer body, between a male and female self; this relationship was liberating, he argues, being about "a touching, but not a seizing" (p. 95). Harris sees the marriage of inner and outer body standing for the regenerative possibilities of good and evil, intellect and intuition, and black and white, which have been lost in the modern world's drive to create absolutes. Imperialism pushed the "negative" qualities into the margins and onto the colonized. In a sense, then, the sheer power of imperialism sowed the seeds of its own decay by transferring the self-regenerative parts of itself onto the Other. In Harris's argument, the suppression of the intuitive side of human nature has created a world which has deliberately burned its bridges to the past. The power to regenerate now comes from the hybridized margins, from "racial" and cultural mixture, from the "intuitive imagination" of the artist able to look aslant at the self-isolated modern world.

Although Harris does not wish to be categorized only as a post-colonial writer, his work is, and has always been, intimately concerned with challenging the absolutes of imperial power. It is interesting that in his notion of regeneration coming through hybridization, post-colonial theory has eventually lined up behind his thinking – Homi K. Bhabha, for instance, sees

hybridization as both regeneration and resistance – and Harris was expressing a form of “magic realism” long before the genre became popular. Twenty or thirty years ago, post-colonial writing was beginning to be structured around a conflict between oppressors and oppressed, reversing the European perception of good at the center, and evil on the margins, but still keeping the two worlds separated by the historical evil of imperialism. Harris never did subscribe to that view, always seeing a complex interdependence of cultures in the past, present, and future where others saw conflict. His lectures reveal a remarkably stable vision in his thirty years of writing. The book is recommended as a fine complement to his fiction, and as an eloquent expression of a highly individual imagination.

Derek Walcott's Poetry: American Mimicry. REI TERADA. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992. ix + 260 pp. (Cloth US\$ 35.00).

JONATHAN WHITE
Department of Literature
University of Essex
Colchester CO4 3SQ, England

Rei Terada's monograph is rich in allusion to postmodern and post-colonial theory. The main argument is a simple and valuable one about “mimicry,” borrowed in essence not from theorists but from an essay by Derek Walcott himself (“The Caribbean: Culture or Mimicry?” in the 1974 *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs*), and developed by Terada as a crucial insight into the cultural workings of poetry. In a nutshell, the claim is that culture not only includes much mimicry but in essence *is* mimicry. In Walcott's words, “Fear of imitation obsesses minor poets” (p. 47). Setting their sights on “originality” – something which by the terms of this argument is a misleading shibboleth – minor poets stand no chance of engaging fully in their cultures. The major poet-adventurers explore cultural tradition by learning its complex languages – in short, through mimicry. Thus Terada demonstrates how Walcott's cultural origins involve him in intricate mimicry of different and even conflicting influences – so much so that he becomes in his own phrase, “the mulatto of style” (p. 43). This argument is highly relevant to literature of the Caribbean, particularly in view of V.S. Naipaul's often detested but much feared satires on post-colonial cultures as “mimic” versions of better, because more “authentic,” European models. Terada suggests that even those “original,” “Old World” models must be under-

stood as mimicry in their turn. All discourse is mimicry of something extant in a culture, since, in Walcott's words, "language is mimicry, and creative to the extent that it is" (p. 47).

De-emphasizing "anxiety of influence," Terada analyzes how Walcott establishes "links of sensibility beneath a veneer of difference" (p. 50), reversing the conventional notion of self-differentiation from the community of other past and present writers. Until recently, criticism has often concentrated on the sheer difficulties of literature forging its "independence" within societies which are themselves frequently independent in name only, and devastated by what Ngugi wa Thiong'o has called the "cultural bomb" of imperialism. By considering the issue in the way Terada does (following clues from Walcott), cultural mimicry is not the problem. On the contrary, learning to embrace rather than shun mimicry is claimed as a large step towards a creative *solution*.

How convincing is this argument? In effect it could not stand without one important (and not so simple) caveat. Fortunately Terada introduces this caveat early, and its implications subtly pervade her subsequent analyses. In essence it is the matter of poetry *internalizing differences* within itself. Her claim is that Walcott "*contains* the conflict as a difference within his own identity," producing in the poetry "a state of being that incorporates difference within itself" (p. 9). Terada puts this case best in the opening chapters, particularly in the illuminating discussion of "Walcott and Creole Politics" (Chapter 3), which hinges on the persuasively argued claim that "the creole model, since it incorporates difference in its very constitution, has a good deal in common with Western poststructural models of language" (p. 85).

Some of the discussion in later chapters seems a little arbitrary, and at times abstruse. As with many critics, Terada's attempts to do justice to genuine complexities occasionally result in more rather than less mystification. For example: "Neither can we decide whether 'The Light of the World' actively produces and undoes these contradictions or whether these contradictions actively produce and undo it, for the process of disclosing the ubiquity of rhetoric also begins in self-knowledge and moves toward generalization, following the route of the universalizing impulse it queries" (p. 225). I myself would seriously query *that* rhetoric. Fortunately it is far from ubiquitous here. Indeed, it is perhaps a drawback to be expected in a book whose author has worked hard to engage with "tensions, conflicts, and cruces" in Walcott's oeuvre to date (p. 7), and has at every point eschewed turning the text into a mere unproblematic trawl through the poet's successive achievements.

We need more criticism that faces big questions of relationship between poetry and culture – here the large (and largely misunderstood) issue of mimicry – with the intellectual penetration of this book from Terada.

Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680. JOHN THORNTON. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. xxxviii + 309 pp. (Cloth US\$ 49.95, Paper US\$ 17.95)

RAY A. KEA
Department of History
University of California
Riverside CA 92521, U.S.A.

This is an important book and a compelling synthesis. The author, John Thornton of Millersville University in Pennsylvania, argues for the centrality and continuous involvement of western Africa in the creation of the Atlantic World from the fifteenth to the late seventeenth century. The historiographical and methodological inspiration and guide for Thornton's revisionist strategy is the work of the late Fernand Braudel, in particular that historian's *Capitalism and Material Life* – hence, the geographic scale, thematic range, broad generalities, and copiously documented historical detail of Thornton's investigation.

The study is divided into two parts. "Africans in Africa" examines the nature of the interaction between Europe and Atlantic Africa; "Africans in the New World" discusses "the role that those Africans who went to live in the non-African parts of the Atlantic world played in their new societies." Thornton raises a number of probing and challenging questions and pursues topics and themes which highlight African agency in the making of the Atlantic world.

The book's first part addresses a set of questions pertaining to the nature of western Africa's societal formations. Thornton reconstructs the political geography and state systems of western Africa from Senegambia to Angola, and examines particular aspects of African political economy, including commerce and market networks, the production of textiles and iron/steel, social structures, and the character of slavery. In his careful examination of western Africa's interaction with Europe he shows how African polities and merchants were active in these interactions, for example, in the development of trade, and argues, contrary to received historiographical and anthropological wisdom, that Europe did not exercise commercial dominance over African marketing systems or political-military dominance over African polities. One of his major contentions is that the growth of the export slave trade can be attributed to economic and political motives on the African side: it was not an inevitable consequence of European coercion and influence. While he makes this statement without grounding these motives in the broader social life of Atlantic Africa, he nevertheless convincingly

demonstrates that the societies of western Africa were viable civilizations in their own right, that they were by no means inferior to their western European counterparts with respect to commercial, political, and artisanal development, and that they were not "backward," marginalized, regressive entities in the Atlantic (or world) economy. Africa, he maintains, has to be taken seriously by students of the transatlantic slave trade.

The second part investigates the historical situation of Africans (and Afro-Americans) as a labor force, enslaved and freed, in "colonial Atlantic societies." Resistance and religion are two of the main themes pursued in this section. Thornton links both to slave community formation and the centrality of the African/Afro-American presence in the colonial settler societies. He maintains that in spite of the wretched conditions of slavery it "was not sufficiently bad to prevent the development of a reasonably self-sustaining slave community" and, he continues, such communities were established throughout the Americas. His basic premise is that the slave populations were capable of organizing these communities because of their cultural experiences and institutions in Africa.

On the basis of language, he divides Atlantic Africa into three culturally distinct zones – Upper Guinea, Lower Guinea, and Angola – and seven subzones. He then suggests that although enslaved "Africans may have been linguistically diverse, there were only three different cultures that contributed to the New World, and among them only seven distinct subcultures." The African slaves of the Americas were, in this view, less culturally diverse than Americanist scholars had previously assumed and argued. He continues that largely because of extensive commercial exchange throughout the Atlantic African zones, cultural interaction was frequent and widespread; hence multilingualism and the sharing of religious and artistic heritages and of aspects of material culture by distinct ethnolinguistic and cultural groups were commonplace. A background of cultural sharing and multilingualism was a condition of existence for slave community formation in the Americas.

Nor did "randomizing" happen on a massive, insurmountable scale; there was no haphazard, *ad hoc* placement of Africans from diverse African locales on plantations and in mines, workshops, and towns. Thornton states that the general pattern of slave acquisition along the western African coast was for a slaving ship to put in at one or, at most, two ports. "Slaves were drawn from the commercial circuit that served both the port and the region," or culture zone. On large estates, he writes, slaves would have "no trouble finding members of their nation with whom to communicate, and they would have even less trouble finding those of other nations with whom they were linked through commerce and other interaction in Africa."

Thornton's view is that a kind of cultural cosmopolitanism enabled slaves to create coherent communities.

The author is to be congratulated for this bold, revisionist study, which will be welcomed by Africanists and Americanists alike. No future studies of the transatlantic slave trade can afford to ignore it.

Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System. BARBARA L. SOLOW (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. viii + 355 pp. (Cloth £ 37.50)

B.W. HIGMAN
Department of History
University of the West Indies
Mona, Jamaica

As a collection of papers originally presented at a conference, *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System* is superior to most productions of its type. The twelve chapters hang together well, because they address a coherent set of issues and have been carefully edited to emphasize the interconnectedness of the themes. But coherence does not mean consensus, and dialogue is an important feature of the volume. In addition to contributing a chapter on slavery and colonization Barbara L. Solow provides a valuable introduction establishing the framework of the analysis. It is the burden of her introduction, and of the volume as a whole, to demonstrate the significance for world history of the inclusion of the New World in the international economy and the fundamental role of slavery in that process. The chapters in the volume "place the study of slavery in the mainstream of international history" (p. 1).

Beyond this essential point, Solow seeks to argue not only that slavery was the source of economic growth in the New World but also that in the Old World "those regions linked to the colonial trade experienced increased demand for their goods and services – manufactures and shipping – and became sources of dynamic growth in their countries" (p. 2). Most of the contributors to the volume support this general argument, though with variations and perhaps a tendency to be less certain about the Old World side of the balance. The arguments of Eric Williams in *Capitalism and Slavery* are never far away, though curiously his name does not appear in the index.

William D. Phillips, Jr. discusses the Old World background and contends that the long existence of slavery in domestic service and gang labor, and the revival of the plantation on the Atlantic islands, provided preconditions and

prototypes which strongly influenced the character of slavery in the Americas. Similarly, in a discussion of the Portuguese and Spanish empires down to 1713, Franklin W. Knight concludes that "the potential economic value of the Americas could never have been realized" without African slaves and the transatlantic trade (p. 72). He also notes, however, that the slave trade mode of production became less significant as a mechanism of capital accumulation by the end of the eighteenth century, when industrial capitalism (partly a product of the slave system) replaced commercial capitalism, and just when the Spanish came to realize the full potential of the slave trade. In his essay on the eighteenth century, Joseph C. Miller implicitly argues against the interpretation advanced by Solow, holding that "for Portugal and its empire, as well as elsewhere on the peripheries of the Atlantic economy, declining and threatened economic interests resorted to slavery and the slave trade as a means of delaying impending collapse. Slaving there entrenched old inefficiencies and removed Portugal further and further from the growth and structural changes gathering momentum elsewhere" (p. 149). Another chapter on the Portuguese, by Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, extends Miller's emphasis on marginality and the place of Brazil in the Atlantic system. The Dutch, on the other hand, according to P.C. Emmer, "were instrumental in combining the production technology of the first Atlantic system with the capitalism of the second Atlantic system" rather than contributing directly to staple output (p. 95). He agrees that slave labor was essential to both systems.

For North America, David Richardson contributes an essay on New England in the eighteenth century and David W. Galenson on the Chesapeake in the seventeenth century. Richardson argues that although New England was never a true slave society, the region's trade with slave-based economies played a much larger role in its economic growth than historians have commonly recognized. Slavery was much more obviously central to the Chesapeake, and Galenson stresses the need to understand its role by looking both at local and transatlantic variables.

Students of the slave trade and its contribution to the economic dominance of the West will find particularly interesting the chapter by P.K. O'Brien and S. L. Engerman. The significance of their essay has already been picked up by William Darity, Jr. (1992) and Joseph E. Inikori (1993), who note a revision of earlier arguments that profits from the slave trade and colonial trade were too small in relation to British or European gross national product or gross investment to explain the rise of industry. O'Brien and Engerman, in their chapter in the volume under review, give particular emphasis to the role of exports from Britain, supporting Solow's global view. No doubt the debate will continue.

Patrick Villiers offers some relevant data on the French trade in the eighteenth century, but does not develop an extended analysis. Jacob M. Price contributes a very valuable chapter on the role of credit in the slave trade and plantation economies. David Eltis, going against the tide of Solow's argument, contends that the transatlantic trade did not "undermine the predominance of domestic economic activity" in Africa itself (p. 118).

All in all, *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System* provides a rich source of new data and ideas within the context of longstanding debates in the historiography.

REFERENCES

DARITY, WILLIAM, JR., 1992. A Model of "Original Sin": Rise of the West and Lag of the Rest. *American Economic Review* 82:162-67.

INIKORI, JOSEPH E., 1993. *Slavery and the Rise of Capitalism*. Mona, Jamaica: Department of History, University of the West Indies.

Africa in America: Slave Acculturation and Resistance in the American South and the British Caribbean, 1736-1831. MICHAEL MULLIN. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 412 pp. (Cloth US\$ 37.50)

SIDNEY W. MINTZ
Department of Anthropology
Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore MD 21218, U.S.A.

This lengthy, complex, thought-provoking, and copiously detailed work carries forward the arguments its author initiated in his *Flight and Rebellion*, published more than two decades ago, rendering them more elaborate and sophisticated. Eleven chapters, in three sections ("The Unseasoned," "Plantation Slaves," and "The Assimilated"), imply some general chronological sequence. But the discussion moves back and forth through time and, since four major cases are used for comparative purposes, through space as well. Jamaica, Barbados, the Carolina lowcountry, and the Chesapeake are the cases; the time spread is just about one century long. Some chapters of a descriptive, "ethnographic" sort are as short as twelve or fifteen pages; others are as long as thirty-eight. They display both Michael Mullin's views and an immense amount of work. Occasional lengthy pas-

sages seem to dangle, neither altogether clear nor sufficiently tied to what precedes or follows them (see, for example, the chronicle of Willem the obeahman, pp. 180-82). But the book is worth our time.

Mullin wants to lay bare the link between how the slaves acculturated and how they resisted their condition. He assures us he is not interested in heroes and heroines (and the book is happily free of both, except perhaps for the planters' employees Samson Wood and Thomas Thistlewood), but rather in using resistance "to describe differences in the values and ways of Africans and Creoles" (p. 2). These Africans and Creoles are among the many contrastive categories the author devises. Taking note of one of the two contesting perspectives which see slaves either as passive victims or as active resisters, Mullin seems to side more with the latter. But he shows that the issue is complicated by differences between the U.S. South and the Anglophone Caribbean. He documents such differences here in a more convincing manner than have most historians of the South, who created a precedent a couple of decades ago by using the islands as a spurious backdrop for their Southern cases, rather than giving them equal (or equally informed) treatment.

In earlier work, Mullin tells us, he saw slavery as an encounter between two cultures, one of them "African"; assigned importance to each person's specific occupation, identity as an African or Creole, and the overall work environment in shaping individual resistance; and sought to use resistance itself as a means for understanding the impact of slavery on a people (pp. 3-4). Now, rather than using plantation life as the context for his case studies, he treats the "unseasoned," the plantation slaves, and the "assimilated artisans" as three stages in the Afro-American experience against which to silhouette his four geographical cases.

I wish to comment on two of the many subjects in Mullin's book before attempting to evaluate the merit of his approach. One is the emergence of the proto-peasantry in the West Indies, and Mullin's strong case for its non-emergence in the U.S. South. The other is the issue of the slave family, wherein Mullin sees again a strong contrastive difference between mainland Anglo-America and the Anglophone West Indies.

There is no doubt that for the slaves access to land upon which to grow their own food was an important feature of the way West Indian slavery operated. Mullin is eloquent and persuasive on the proto-peasantry, though I think that even he is not as clear as he might be on what this access made possible. More important, however, is his claim that a comparable access was absent in the South.

The Anglophone West Indian planters did poorly by the slaves, who were left chronically hungry and weak from undernourishment, and sometimes died of hunger, or disease aided by malnutrition. In one particularly awful

period (1780-81) in Jamaica, "many thousand" starved to death (Edwards 1793, II:413). The planters were fully aware of the crisis, but reluctant to make the investments necessary to protect the slaves. Barry Higman (1984:204) has explained that there were three principal sources of slave provisions: imports, food raised on the plantations by gangs organized by the plantation itself, and proto-peasant production.¹ In Jamaica, and from an early time onward, proto-peasant production emerged as the most important of these alternatives. Mullin stresses the large measure of autonomy slaves came to exercise in the sphere of land use, marketing, and financial judgment; here, I suspect that he may go too far. But he could have said more about the family head's authority in disposing of family labor, choosing crops to grow, making the decisions necessary for effective marketing, and using savings creatively. He could also have stressed the ideological significance of a subterranean (though largely visible) slave-based economic infrastructure. A more powerful contradiction of what slaves were supposed to be – a more palpable refutation of their ostensible limitations than the ways they farmed, managed their labor, planned their marketing, and used their resources – would be hard to imagine. The image of the slaves as stupid, incompetent, and dependent upon Christian guidance becomes ludicrous when ranged alongside the reality of many thousands who farmed land in their free moments, carried produce to market, sold and purchased the goods they desired, and meanwhile provisioned the entire society.

But Mullin argues forcefully that comparable economic activity by slaves in the South did not evolve and, more important, that what did evolve was always under the planters' thumbs. Because he imputes such importance to slaves' management of their provision grounds, he may overstress the consequences of the difference (compare, for example, his argument on p. 157 with Berlin and Morgan 1991; Schlotterbeck 1991; Campbell 1991; and McDonald 1991); but the difference itself appears real.² Mullin thinks that attaching wealth earned by autonomous economic activity to paternity via inheritance in the case of the Jamaican slaves was somehow a collective act and therefore "African." I suspect, rather, that passing on wealth to one's children was a profoundly Western and individualistic act, rather than a collective one.³ Individuality and collectivity need not be counterposed and are not mutually exclusive.

Mullin's observations on family structure are also puzzling. His final remarks on the subject read:

Ultimately, slaves acculturated more slowly and less thoroughly in the Caribbean than in the South because West Indian families were constituted differently – and thereby were stronger – than mainland slave families. There is a paradox here. The notorious vital statistics of West Indian slaves (of high death rates and low birth rates) obscure the

remarkable success of those Caribbean families able to use the slave-oriented internal economy of provision grounds, surpluses and markets to reconstitute families that were *African in character, deeming property as collective and a basis of such ancestor rituals as play*. (p. 273; emphasis added)

There is a paradox here, possibly several. No one more than this reviewer would like to link greater economic autonomy among the slaves to solidary kinship bonds and stronger families. But Mullin's confident economic determinism in this case is somewhat surprising. Just how did this near-miracle happen; and how can it be proved? The case is not made, at least not in this book.

Deeming property "collective," families "African in character," and "play as ancestor ritual" poses problems. Access to land for provision grounds, and private property in terms of real wealth (such as cash, clothing, furniture, etc.) seem, throughout slavery, to have been individual matters, though provision grounds were worked by household groups or families. To be sure, after emancipation in Jamaica, as Jean Besson has demonstrated powerfully (see, for example, 1984, 1987), family land came into being and, with it, corporateness of a kind, particularly with reference to family land. The desires of the slaves to become members of communities and of families could then come much closer to reality. Besson (1984:19) also substantiates the existence of an unrestricted cognatic system of kinship (once believed impossible) "with overlapping kin groups and family lines of ever-increasing size." But it is misleading to let these findings obscure the Jamaicans' strong commitment to individual private property, and there is no reason to doubt that such economic individualism took shape before 1838. Family land excepted, inheritance was partible and particulate, and economic resources (for example, marketing capital) have always been employed on an individual and highly competitive basis. The same certainly seems to be the case for West Africa today, though such an assertion is empty in the light of intervening centuries. As for families "African in character," I do not understand at all what Mullin means. If there is anything of a general kind that might be said about "African [nuclear] families," it would be that they are usually embedded in larger groups organized around principles of kinship – which is what Caribbean families had difficulty becoming from the start. One might except for certain purposes the "bloods" of Carriacou (Smith 1962) or the Maroons of Suriname (Price 1975), for example. But no sleight of hand will make it easy to get from Jamaican family land to families of an "African character."

The larger issue may have to do with what of a cultural sort did, indeed, diffuse from Africa to the New World. Mullin's tendency to treat culture as materially embodied, or fixed, may be the cause of his most serious misread-

ings. Kroeber (1948) writes of culture that "perhaps *how it comes to be* is really more distinctive of culture than what it *is*." That would seem to be the case even more in societies such as the West Indies of the eighteenth century, with their deep cultural divisions and rapid turnovers of population. Yet it is difficult to deal with "traditional" things when they keep changing under one's eyes, and particularly when it is all happening in the remote past. Still, we know that things can resemble African institutions without being African institutions. Thus Besson (1984:19) contends that "family land does not represent survivals from ancestral or colonial cultures, but the creation of Caribbean culture in resistant response to Caribbean agrarian relations."

Mullin's use of labels (such as "assimilated" or "unseasoned") hypostatizes to a large extent what were ongoing processes of culture-building under desperate circumstances. By creating the categories, then filling them with examples, he endows the categories themselves – such as "African" or "Creole" – with an ontological status they may not deserve. Those familiar with the late Edward Thompson's exchanges with the French structuralists may remember his admonition concerning class conflict. Althusser, he wrote, postulates a working class, then tells us how classes enter into class struggle. Thompson disagreed. It is rather, he argued, that people in the midst of their daily lives discover they have a common fate by struggling against their oppressors, and in doing so, they discover they are members of a class. I think Mullin's arguments can be called into question along the lines of the same sort of reasoning.

Afro-American culture was forged in everyday situations, some of them in struggle. Individuals thrown together in shared suffering find each other, and cope with their oppressors as best as they can. The slaves had no time for debates about cultural purity or finding roots; it was hard enough staying alive. Hence they *built* their cultures from the ground up – from what they had in their heads, hearts, and minds, what they could appropriate from their social environment, and what they could give to each other. They were not able to transfer their institutions intact to the New World, and despite Mullin's thorough search for "tribes," I for one am left unconvinced that he has discovered any. By employing a label such as "African," he sometimes appears to be losing just what it is he is attempting to catch.

Thus, for example, the "shipmate" phenomenon which arose out of the experience of the Middle Passage (see Mintz & Price 1992:43-45), to which Mullin refers frequently, took shape precisely because tribal membership and family membership had been so impaired by enslavement and transportation. That shipmate relationships (*máti*, *batiment*, *malungo*, etc.) were so important (even giving rise to incest taboos) is not evidence of the strength of tribal or kin loyalties, but of their situational weakness.

These criticisms notwithstanding, Mullin has written a thoughtful, sober and richly documented work, from which Caribbeanists, at least, can learn much.

NOTES

1. I first used the term "proto-peasantry" more than thirty years ago to characterize those who grew their own provisions and marketed the surplus, using their income as they wished, but were still slaves (Mintz 1961). The term contains, of course, the implication that the slaves would become free; and of course they eventually did.
2. Mullin contends that women were predominant in the Jamaican markets even before emancipation, and faults me for claiming, he says, "that women higglers only appeared after emancipation, an argument based on the assumption that slave men dominated provision grounds" (p. 383, n. 17). What I did claim was that *families* are repeatedly described as going to market before emancipation. After emancipation, as slave families acquired land of their own in peasant communities, men commonly became the cultivators and women the marketers. Mullin's evidence for predominantly female marketing before emancipation is welcome and important: I think it is still rather thin (see pp. 300-7, especially 304-6).
3. "Stripped thus of the traditional guarantees of tribal membership on the one hand, and denied the protections of feudal reciprocities on the other, they [the slaves] were individualized by slavery without being permitted to organize against it. The critical feature of their exploitation was hence to deprive them of two major accesses which European capitalism would eventually concede to its proletarian populations, as North American capitalism did for its white citizenry: political liberty and the right to accumulate capital ... The acquisition of particular skills through which liquid wealth could be earned, accumulated, and possibly even transmitted to one's children was especially important in enabling individual slaves to define their paternity by acquiring a patrimony – in societies in which individual wealth was often a principal measure of individual worth" (Mintz 1971:330; see also Mintz 1978).

REFERENCES

- BERLIN, IRA & PHILIP D. MORGAN, 1991. Introduction to *The Slaves' Economy*. Special Issue of *Slavery & Abolition* 12:1-30.
- BESSON, JEAN, 1984. Land Tenure in the Free Villages of Trelawny, Jamaica: A Case Study in the Caribbean Peasant Response to Emancipation. *Slavery & Abolition* 5:3-23.
- , 1987. Family Land and Caribbean Society: Toward an Ethnography of Afro-Caribbean Peasantries. In Elizabeth M. Thomas-Hope (ed.), *Perspectives on Caribbean Regional Identity*. University of Liverpool Centre for Latin American Studies, pp. 57-83.
- CAMPBELL, JOHN, 1991. As "a Kind of Freeman"? Slaves' Market-Related Activities in the South Carolina Upcountry, 1800-1860. *Slavery & Abolition* 12:131-69.
- HIGMAN, BARRY, 1984. *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807-1834*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- KROEBER, A.L., 1948. *Anthropology*. New York: Harcourt Brace.

MCDONALD, RODERICK A., 1991. Independent Economic Production by Slaves on Antebellum Louisiana Sugar Plantations. *Slavery & Abolition* 12:182-208.

MINTZ, SIDNEY W., 1961. The Question of Caribbean Peasantries: A Comment. *Caribbean Studies* 1:31-34.

——, 1971. Toward an Afro-American History. *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale* 13:317-31.

——, 1978. Caribbean Marketplaces and Caribbean History. *Nova Americana* 1:333-44.

PRICE, RICHARD, 1975. *Saramaka Social Structure*. Río Piedras: University of Puerto Rico, Institute of Caribbean Studies.

SCHLOTTERBECK, JOHN T., 1991. The Internal Economy of Slavery in Rural Piedmont Virginia. *Slavery & Abolition* 12:170-81.

SMITH, M.G., 1962. *Kinship and Community in Carriacou*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Afrika in Amerika. CORINNA RADDATZ (ed.). Hamburg: Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde, 1992. 264 pp. (Paper n.p.)

KAREN FOG OLWIG
Institute of Anthropology
University of Copenhagen
Frederiksholms Kanal 4, 1220 Copenhagen K, Denmark

Afrika in Amerika was published in connection with an exhibition by the same name shown in Hamburg during the Columbus quinqucentennial in 1992. Rather than detailing the discovery and conquest of the American continent by Columbus and his Spanish entourage, the exhibit focused on the cultural implications of one of the major population movements which these historical events set in motion: the forcible removal of millions of people from Africa in order to serve as slaves in the American continent. The resulting publication is a richly illustrated and handsome work which touches on many important aspects of the African legacy in the Americas.

The book is apparently intended to serve as a textbook which may be used as an introduction to African-American culture, and most of the articles are written on the basis of the relevant published literature, much of it in English. The book therefore is of limited interest to most academic specialists in the area, who would be well versed in the original sources.

A few of the articles do, however, present new material which may not be well known. Among them are Wolfgang Haberland's article on the Taino and other "West Indians" and Richard and Sally Price's article on Maroon societies and their art. These articles contain many pictures of items in the collection of Taino and Saramaka material culture held by the Museum für

Völkerkunde, which hosted the exhibit. From an African-American perspective, the museum's fine holdings of Saramaka material culture is of particular interest, partly because it was collected in 1930 by Frances and Melville Herskovits, pioneering anthropologists in the Caribbean, partly because it contains ritual objects which are rarely shown in public. Richard and Sally Price note, in fact, that most Saramaka probably would not approve of such open display of their sacred objects. Similarly Ute Stebich's article on Haitian art is accompanied by a number of reproductions of paintings from the Jaeger Collection, Neu-Ulm, one of them by Philomé Obin which dates back to 1944. They will be of great interest to many.

Thomas Stege's article (written largely on the basis of Christian Degn's book *Die Schimmelmans im atlantischen Dreieckshandel* (1974) brings to light an example of German involvement in the Caribbean which may be relatively unknown. It discusses the German Schimmelmann family, which played a major role in Danish West Indian history for more than a century and was one of the leading forces behind the Danish abolition of the slave trade in 1792. Another major German contribution to Caribbean history is not discussed in the book, however – that of the Moravian missionaries who began religious and educational instruction among slaves in the Danish West Indies during the 1730s.

How well does the book serve as an introduction to the African presence in the Americas? Since it is published in connection with an exhibition it is understandable that it tends to emphasize the more spectacular aspects of African-American culture, such as rituals (Haitian voodoo, Saramaka fetishes, candomblé), art (Haitian paintings, Saramaka woodcarvings), music and dance, and resistance. While the chapter on these topics are all interesting and rewarding, the very limited attention paid to other aspects of African-American life, such as social and economic relations, may leave the impression that these latter are poorly developed in the Caribbean.

Unfortunately, this impression is indirectly supported by Piet Emmer's chapter on the slave trade and slavery, at least as far as economic relations are concerned. He argues that the experience of slavery, in which all slaves received the same food and clothing regardless of their work efforts, left them with little incentive to develop a spirit of enterprise or economic drive. This made it difficult for them to engage in trade relations, agriculture, or the trades after emancipation (p. 77). He then goes on to ask whether this may explain some of the problems faced by Caribbean immigrants in North America and Europe today: "Do the slaves' descendants also suffer from racial discrimination in North America and in Europe? Or do they not seize the opportunities that offer themselves? Does their past of powerless maintenance still play a role?" (p. 78). Emmer's description of the slave experi-

ence is contrary to that found in most recent scholarly works which, in addition to examining the institution of slavery itself, have also attempted to look into slave culture. Furthermore, Emmer's attempt to explain a contemporary situation by reference to a slave system which was abolished more than 100 years ago ignores the impact of the post-emancipation history on the later development of African-American culture.

Afrika in Amerika is a beautiful book with many well written and thoughtful articles. It would be even better if it were complemented by a companion volume which could fill in some of the gaps that cause this book to present a somewhat warped picture of Africa in America.

REFERENCE

DEGN, CHRISTIAN, 1974. *Die Schimmelmanns im atlantischen Dreieckshandel: Gewinn und Gewissen*. Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz.

African Folktales in the New World. WILLIAM BASCOM. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992. xxv + 243 pp. (Cloth US\$ 35.00, Paper US\$ 14.95)

LEE HARING
Department of English
Brooklyn College
Brooklyn NY 11210, U.S.A.

Twelve years after William Bascom's death, we are finally bequeathed the great Africanist's conclusive documentation of the persistence and continuity of African culture in the New World. In this book, assembled by his Berkeley colleague Alan Dundes from articles in the journal *Research in African Literatures*, Bascom asserts that ninety folktales found in the New World could have come only from Africa. As an introduction, Dundes inserts part of a 1981 lecture in which Bascom announces his position, explains his sources, and describes his methods of work. Reading this book fifty years after Melville Herskovits revealed the African backgrounds of American blacks, and mindful of the inveterate resistance to the fact, no one can doubt the success of Bascom's attempt "to end the century-old debate about the African sources of American folktales" (p. xxiv).

Chapter 1, "Oba's Ear," demonstrates that a Yoruba myth "has survived in the Americas in readily recognizable form" by summarizing eight New

World versions and six African ones; two African texts are translated and transcribed. Chapter 2 sets the pattern for the rest. In it Bascom establishes the independent existence of the tale "The Talking Skull Refuses to Talk" as not merely a motif but a whole plot. He demonstrates its African origin and its popularity in the New World by summarizing forty-three versions from the New World and twenty-four from Africa. Three additional versions are reported from Brazil in an addendum by Gerald M. Moser; two more, from the United States and Jamaica, are added in Bascom's reply. He frames the chapter (and thereby the whole book) as a reply to Richard M. Dorson's view that black American folktales were largely of European origin.

Chapter 3, "Trickster Seeks Endowments," takes up a more challenging assortment of material. Here Bascom gathers together five tale patterns in which "trickster seeks wisdom, cunning, or power" (p. 40), attempts to win a wife, or must obtain a difficult object of search in order to achieve some goal. Typically, the chapter ends with summaries of African and New World versions – seventy-eight in this case, including texts from Guatemala, the Bahamas, the Dominican Republic, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Grenada, and other Caribbean islands.

The remaining chapters follow the pattern Bascom lays out in "The Talking Skull." Each chapter title names the tale or tales to be discussed, and the first paragraph summarizes it. For comparative data, the author then turns to A. Aarne's *The Types of the Folktale* and Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*. Most often, reclassifying this African-based material leads to the conclusion that incidents seen in Europe as motifs (tale components) here are independent "types," recurrent whole plots. The chapter ends with summaries of the many African and New World versions. The book stops after the twenty-first tale, because Bascom did not live to complete his documentation of the other sixty-nine tale types.

To compensate, Alan Dundes's preface explains the comparative method in folklore, the state of African folktale research, and the views of Richard Dorson which Bascom set out to refute. Dundes adds references to Brazilian material that will supplement Bascom's findings. Especially revealing is Dundes's explanation that for years Bascom assembled notes on every collection of African tales to be published. "The resulting index-card file constituted a virtual private tale type index of African folktales" (p. ii). Because it defines tales of African origin more fully than previous work has done, this book forms the nucleus of a type index of African tales.

Bascom's text-oriented comparative study of the migration of African materials to the New World may well seem old-fashioned in an era of performance-based studies like the Prices' *Two Evenings in Saramaka* or Roger Abrahams's *The Man-of-Words in the West Indies*. What a pity that

he could not have seen more recent work confirming his position, such as Joseph Holloway's *Africanisms in American Culture*. But Bascom's book is an indispensable classic for folklorists, anthropologists, and New World historians. It obliges students of traditional expressive culture to acknowledge the texts bequeathed to them by their predecessors. Now that computer databases and telecommunication can facilitate comparative study of African materials, it is more possible than ever to encompass and organize the diversity of human expressivities. Perhaps those who follow up Bascom's analyses of narratives will find a more readable way to present their materials than the bald plot summaries he relied on, but none will display more zeal or success in demonstrating the New World's debt to Africa.

REFERENCES

AARNE, ANTTI AMATUS, 1928. *The Types of the Folk-tale: A Classification and Bibliography*. Translated and enlarged by Stith Thompson. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia.

ABRAHAMS, ROGER, 1983. *The Man-of-Words in the West Indies: Performance and the Emergence of Creole Culture*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

HOLLOWAY, JOSEPH E. (ed.), 1990. *Africanisms in American Culture*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

PRICE, RICHARD & SALLY PRICE, 1991. *Two Evenings in Saramaka*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

THOMPSON, STITH, 1976. *Motif-Index of Folk Literature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books, and Local Legends*. 6 vols. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. [Orig. 1932-35.]

History of Religions in the Caribbean. DALE A. BISNAUTH. Kingston: Kingston Publishers, 1989. 225 pp. (Paper US\$ 14.95)

FRANK JAN VAN DIJK
Van Limburg Stirumlaan 36
3445 CE Woerden, the Netherlands

While this book does not provide the reader with a wealth of new data or novel insights, it may very well turn out to become a lasting contribution to the field. As an introductory overview aiming at a rather broad readership, Dale Bisnauth's *History of Religions in the Caribbean* seems particularly suitable for use in undergraduate courses on religion in the Caribbean.

The fruit of arduous labor by a former lecturer at Kingston's United Theological College with a Ph.D. in History, the book strongly resembles, in its design and nature, the successful *Short History of the West Indies* by J.H. Parry *et al.* Yet *History of Religions* is not quite as "mature" as its predecessor, first published thirty-seven years ago and repeatedly reprinted and updated since. One unfortunate shortcoming of this religious equivalent of *A Short History* is its quite arbitrary caesura around 1950. Bisnauth occasionally continues into more recent years, for instance on Jamaican Rastafari and the White-Robed Army of Jordanites in Guyana, but in view of the rapidity of religious change in post-colonial years an additional chapter on contemporary developments in the region would have been most welcome. The absence of an index and a bibliography, or even a list with suggestions for further reading, represents another regrettable omission.

Bisnauth starts out, as may be expected, with a brief obligatory chapter on "the religious beliefs of the indigenous peoples," which – logically, in the absence of ample historical data – remains somewhat superficial. The remainder of the book follows a largely fluent and coherent line with chapters on Catholicism, the challenge to Catholicism, "Africanism," "Evangelicalism" during slavery, Hinduism and Islam, the Africanization of Christianity, and Christianity in the post-emancipation era.

In keeping with the book's introductory nature, the text remains primarily descriptive. As the author writes in his preface, "emphasis is placed on the actual beliefs and practices of the peoples of the Caribbean." The information provided is rather compact, with a sometimes overwhelming amount of (not always necessary) factual detail. The abundance of names, dates, and places of minor importance contributes to its somewhat encyclopedic character. While by and large the book neatly covers the great variety of churches, denominations, sects, and cults in the region, the author is best informed about religion in the Anglophone Caribbean. Hence, the discussions of religion in the British West Indies tend to absorb more space than the developments in the Hispanophone and Francophone areas.

In some cases the conclusions in *History of Religions in the Caribbean* lack the necessary nuances, for instance when the author maintains that "a friendly social atmosphere was created in Catholic colonial societies [which] helped to neutralize any striving for real social equality on the part of the blacks" (p. 200). One has only to point to Haiti during the late eighteenth century to illustrate that such a conclusion is in dire need of further elaboration.

Bisnauth, a Minister of Religion in the Presbyterian Church of Guyana, emphasizes harmony rather than conflict. He stresses the integrating role of Christianity in the Anglophone Caribbean during the nineteenth century,

which he insists "helped to create ... a social consensus that cut across social and colour lines without seriously affecting those lines" (p. 201). The established churches "played a vital part" in the emergence of "a 'greater tradition' of cultural values" in the British West Indies (pp. 201-2). Although there is obviously a basic validity in such an interpretation, it is a somewhat optimistic and unbalanced view. The social importance of the great variety of Afro-Caribbean religions as vehicles of protest and resistance, also in the post-emancipation era, deserves more attention.

Those involved in teaching on religion in the Caribbean and those interested in a general introduction to the subject will nevertheless find *History of Religions* a most useful book. In a revised and enlarged edition, it could even become the "essential book" which the confident publisher already claims this first edition to be.

Everyday Racism: Reports From Women of Two Cultures. PHILOMENA ESSED. Alameda CA: Hunter House, 1990. xiii + 288 pp. (Paper US\$ 12.95)

Understanding Everyday Racism: An Interdisciplinary Theory. PHILOMENA ESSED. Newbury Park CA: Sage, 1991. x + 322 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95, Paper US\$ 19.95)

GLORIA WEKKER
KITLV/Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology
P.O. Box 9515
2300 RA Leiden, the Netherlands

Few academic products in the Netherlands have generated as much public attention, turmoil, and rage, in the past decade, as Philomena Essed's treatises on everyday racism. Her main and most explosive thesis, that the Netherlands is as deeply and as structurally racist as the United States, has, if it ever truly made the agenda, quickly disappeared from it again. Space constraints do not allow such an exercise here, but an analysis of the public reception of Essed's work in terms of the notions she so astutely furnishes in her theory should prove to be interesting: e.g., the tendency of the dominant group to punish, ridicule, marginalize, and pathologize the messenger of the bad news of racism; the myth that racism, if it is to be found at all, is located in the bottom layers of Dutch society, not among the elite; and the convenient misunderstanding that the term racism should only be applied to extremist forms.

Based on non-directive interviews with African-American women in California and Afro-Surinamese women in the Netherlands, Essed explores the nature of everyday racism in the two settings. It is a significant comment on the state-of-the-art of racism research that hers is the first study to centrally focus on the experience of blacks: How is racism experienced in everyday situations? How do blacks recognize covert expressions of racism? What knowledge of racism do blacks have, and how is this knowledge acquired? (1991:vii). In *Everyday Racism*, black women's experiences while shopping or using public transportation and in the labor and housing market take center stage; in *Understanding Everyday Racism*, the theoretical underpinnings of Essed's model, integrating building blocks from macro- and micro-sociology, social psychology, discourse analysis, race relations, and women's studies, are unfolded. Everyday racism, a concept coined by Essed (1991:52) to overcome limitations associated with traditional structural and interactional approaches to the study of racism, is defined as

a process in which (a) socialized racist notions are integrated into meanings that make practices immediately definable and manageable, (b) practices with racist implications become in themselves familiar and repetitive, and (c) underlying racial and ethnic relations are actualized and reinforced through these routine or familiar practices in everyday situations.

Or again, "Everyday racism is the integration of racism into everyday situations through practices (cognitive and behavioral) that activate underlying power relations" (1991:50).

By the innovative move of making the experience of black women a central point of departure, Essed is able to show forms of gendered racism that heretofore had remained obscure, and to demonstrate the consistency of practices in all levels of society, thus showing that racism is structure, ideology, and process alike. In both societies three fundamental mechanisms shape the experiences of black women: marginalization, problematization of their perceptions of social reality, and containment strategies, such as intimidation, patronizing, and pressure to assimilate. The repetitiveness, the cumulativeness, and the systematics of everyday racism amounts for black women in a white-dominated society to "a continual battle against the denial of racism, against Whitecentrism, against automatic in-group preference among Whites, against constant impediments to their aspirations, against humiliations, against petty harassment, and against denigration of their cultures" (1991:10).

Particularly enlightening to me were Essed's analyses of the implications of the different nature of U.S. and Dutch racism. For example, laying out the differences in the domain of interracial dating, in which Dutch black women

engage at an appreciably higher rate than their U.S. sisters, Essed points to more racial racism ("race purism") in the U.S. and more cultural racism in the Netherlands, in which class seems to override race. Here I would have liked to see her address more fully the genesis and the nature of the differing constructions of race in the two settings. How should we conceive of the relationship between the emic Dutch and the Suriname construction of race? Why does U.S. black male-white female coupling meet with less disapproval than the opposite dyad?

It would be surprising, indeed, if one were not left with some puzzlement after reading these challenging works. While I initially struggled with the validity of some instantiations of everyday racism (e.g., Ilse's Dutch neighbor barging into her bedroom, uninvitedly [1990:65]), I let myself be convinced by Essed's dictum that, regardless of intentionality, "specific practices are by definition racist only when they activate existing structural racial inequality in the system" (1991:39). In that case, however, I am puzzled by the repeated assertion that "everyday racism is racism, but not all racism is everyday racism" (1991:3). Even uncommon forms of racism will, according to her own definition, always activate and reproduce existing racial/ethnic hierarchies.

Understanding Everyday Racism is an important contribution, because it offers a forceful, dynamic, and courageous concept, that promises applicability in a wide range of societies. The book affords no easy or complacent reading either for blacks or for whites, turning the tables of tolerance into those of power. The author convincingly shows the fundamentally different implications of understanding the predicament of blacks in white-dominated societies within a multicultural or racist framework. Tolerance, the ideological companion of multiculturalism and supposed heartbeat of Dutch society, is shown to be utterly beside the point of racism. This is must-reading for everyone who wants to be part of the solution to the problem of living in the "global village."

Beyond the Pale: White Women, Racism, and History. VRON WARE. London: Verso, 1992. xviii + 263 pp. (Cloth US\$ 59.85, Paper US\$ 18.95)

DEBORAH S. RUBIN

Department of Sociology & Anthropology and School of International Studies
University of the Pacific
Stockton CA 95219, U.S.A.

Most authors today freely acknowledge the intertwined effects of race, class, and gender on the social fabric, but it remains rare for anyone to effectively separate these threads without unravelling the whole cloth. *Beyond the Pale* offers a rich, detailed study which reveals and protects the variegated tapestry of feminist history while highlighting how individual fibers combine to form its dominant patterns.

In highly readable prose, this stimulating book recounts the history and practice of white British feminism, and its links to other struggles against inequality. Vron Ware argues that unacknowledged assumptions about race underpin feminism, and, similarly, that ideas of masculinity and femininity inform understandings of race. Explicitly identifying these connections is the objective of this book: to see that "to be white and female is to occupy a social category that is inescapably racialized as well as gendered" (p. xii). Ware reveals the intersections in ideologies of race and gender (and to a lesser extent, class) by analyzing the actions and statements of nineteenth-century feminists, black and white, in three historical chapters documenting their struggles against slavery, imperialism (and colonialism), and lynching. Opening and closing chapters probe the legacy of these efforts in current issues such as ecofeminism, green consumerism, and multiculturalism.

Overlap and divergence between feminist and anti-racist struggles are depicted most starkly in the history of the anti-lynching movement in Great Britain during the 1890s. Ida Wells, a young African-American journalist, traveled to England to publicize atrocities committed against American blacks. The reader uncovers a fascinating analysis of how women, united against lynching, diverged in their understanding of its causes and its reliance on a contested relationship between ideas about race and female sexuality.

Ida Wells rejected the notion that lynching of blacks was motivated by sexual crimes, arguing instead that it was an instrument of white supremacy which used sexual imagery to flame racial fears. White men, reeling from the economic losses following emancipation, could not and would not tolerate the loss of patriarchal privilege. "As long as white women were seen to be the property of white men, without power or a voice of their own, their

'protectors' could claim to be justified in taking revenge ... [and] the reputation of white women ... could always be saved by the charge that they had been the victims of black lust" (p. 182). For Wells, racist lynching practices were built upon gender inequality. To combat lynching, white women would have to recognize their complicity in maintaining a definition of their "womanhood" which absolved them of responsibility for their own actions, and to take a more active role in defining their own places in society.

In contrast, Isabella Mayo, a white British supporter of anti-lynching campaigns, held more conservative views of female sexuality, arguing that "If the women in the South were all 'pure in heart and sound in head', we should hear of fewer lynchings" (p. 196). For Mayo, only diseased or mentally unstable women would initiate male friendships, regardless of race. Women had greater moral strength than men and should condemn lynching as immoral and unjust rather than on racial grounds. Although she worked hard to campaign against lynching, Mayo's position works more broadly against both women's empowerment and racial equality.

By examining British feminists' attitudes toward Indian women, Ware reveals how similarly contrasting notions of race, gender, and class supported alternative analyses of sisterhood under colonialism. Some believed that British women had a civilizing role to play in uplifting Indian women subordinated by a backwards culture; others used feminist principles to argue that Indian men were at fault in oppressing Indian women; and some few cautiously circled an anti-imperialist stance in noting that British colonial policies were also implicated in suppressing both Indian women and men. Ware notes that uncritical, ungended representations of the colonial experience in film and literature continue to shape the images of Empire for the next generation.

Another intriguing theme is how international experiences have shaped feminist movements. British-U.S. linkages financed and publicized the abolitionist and anti-lynching groups whose members often also worked for women's rights. Activists' visits to British colonies fed indirectly into campaigns for workers' rights and women's suffrage in England. Such historical precedents of joined struggles are a heartening reminder when facing the divisiveness of current movements.

The vignettes of contemporary events are less satisfying than the substantive historical treatments. An example linking environmentalism and an almost Victorian association of women and nature tantalizingly suggests that emerging systems of domination and exploitation link race, class, and gender in new ways, but does not fully articulate the connections. Overall, a valuable contribution to feminist history, the book deserves a wide readership.

Blackness and Race Mixture: The Dynamics of Racial Identity in Colombia.
PETER WADE. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993. xv + 415 pp.
(Cloth US\$ 58.00)

MICHAEL HANCHARD
Department of Political Science
Northwestern University
Evanston IL 60208, U.S.A.

As a referent for the politics of racial identity and inequality in Latin America, Brazil has the most renown among scholars for its myth/ideology of racial democracy, conceptualized by Brazilian anthropologist Gilberto Freyre and an integral part of the national folklore. Brazil, however, is not alone in harboring a notion of racial egalitarianism in Latin America. Several other nations – Cuba, Venezuela, Uruguay, and Colombia – also have versions of the racial democracy myth. *Blackness and Race Mixture* explores the Colombian variant of this belief system and social practice, and contributes to further understanding of the national peculiarities of miscegenation within a comparative perspective.

Students of race and ethnicity in Latin America, with few exceptions, rarely utilize post-structuralist racial theory, relying instead on older paradigms of ethnicity and class-based paradigms in largely descriptive accounts of racial interaction. In contrast, Peter Wade is quite familiar with critical race theory and employs meanings of blackness in contemporary Colombia and their roots in constructions of national identity and political development, industry, and culture. In this sense, Wade sees his work as an ethno-historical extension of Michael Taussig's attempt (1980) at demystifying the "natural order" of Colombia's racial democracy myth. Wade writes that he is attempting to "evoke a sense of Colombia that *includes* its blackness as a persistent, live, adaptable, and resistant element, an element that is, in fact, an integral part of Colombian people's sense of their country" (p. xi).

Much like Brazil's *Democracia racial* and Mexico's *La raza cósmica*, the cultural explanation for *mestizaje* in Colombia emphasizes racial and ethnic plurality, the upholding of a mestizo ideal, alongside a gradual obsolescence of people of African descent. The two opening chapters of the book concern themselves with the disjuncture between the expressed ideology of ethnic and racial pluralism and the discourses and social practices of white and non-white, elite and non-elite, Colombians alike, that gives evidence of a society replete with racist stereotypes and discriminatory practices. The time-worn caricatures of lazy, indolent blacks and weak, promiscuous Indians are highlighted by Wade to demonstrate the racist and positivist views

Colombian elites held in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, views which were not unlike those of other Latin American elites over the same period, and which persisted well into a more contemporary setting.

Perhaps the most interesting section of the book is Part II, "Cultural Topography." It is concerned with the relationship between race and regionalism, the manner in which the Choco, Antioquia, and Caribbean coastal regions structure a spatial dimension to racial difference and cultural interaction. For Wade, the strong Afro-Colombian presence in Choco and the reactions to it by whites and non-whites alike suggest that there is far less ambiguity to the meaning and presence of African-derived peoples in Colombia and elsewhere in Latin America. For this reason, Wade argues that the category of black or negro is neither fluid nor ambiguous in relation to other "racial" categories in Colombia. Blackness and its attendant stereotypes carry the negative, static, often contradictory associations they do in other Latin American countries. This is an important observation often lost on Latin American scholars who are at pains to distinguish Latin American racism from its U.S. counterpart.

Chapter 5, "The Black Community and Music," is resonant with the concern for the role of music and expressive arts in cultural politics that has been a major theme of British cultural studies, particularly the role of music within black communities of the African diaspora (Gilroy 1989). In contrast, Wade notes how African-derived culture in Latin America is often considered a component of national (as opposed to racial) identity, unlike more dichotomous race relations in contexts such as the United States, South Africa, or Britain where, given the nature of racial segregation and oppression, cultural production can be a site for cultural politics. In Wade's account, though, the intersection of cultural production and cultural politics is unclear. This may be due in part to the nature of Afro-Colombian identity, but I believe it may also reflect the absence of discussion of Afro-Colombian identity and cultural politics outside the realm of popular culture – dance and music, as well as street life and its associations. Indeed, the penultimate chapter, "Prestige and Equality, Egotism and Envy," devotes just twelve pages of an over-300-page text to Afro-Colombian social movements and politics.

Blackness and Race Mixture is successful in demonstrating that Afro-Colombian identity and cultural practices are a constitutive element of Colombian national culture. It is less successful in achieving the author's expressed aim to show Afro-Colombian collective action and resistance more broadly, and not just in the arena of expressive culture.

REFERENCES

GILROY, PAUL. 1989. *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*. London: Hutchinson.

TAUSSIG, MICHAEL T., 1980. *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Slaves, Sugar, & Colonial Society: Travel Accounts of Cuba, 1801-1899.
LOUIS A. PÉREZ, JR. (ed.). Wilmington DE: SR Books, 1992. xxvi + 259 pp.
(Cloth US\$ 40.00, Paper US\$ 14.95)

ROSALIE SCHWARTZ
National Endowment for the Humanities Fellow
4161 Olympic Street
San Diego CA 92115. U.S.A.

In the same year that this collection of nineteenth-century travel accounts appeared in book stores, almost half a million foreigners visited the island of Cuba. If even one out of every ten thousand of those observers of Cuban life shares his or her thoughts publicly with contemporaries, they will produce more accounts than Louis Pérez used for a book that covers a century. As the present century turned travelers into tourists, recall of voyages evolved from diaries and memoirs to postal cards, photos, slides, and videotapes. Tourists' post cards carry pictures that travelers evoked with imaginative language, often accompanied by the most banal message – "X marks the spot where I stood in this square," or "The weather is fine, and I am well." These are hardly observations that impart knowledge of, or appreciation for, the location visited. Pity the poor archivists who may one day be called on to catalog and store hundreds or thousands of untitled visual images – and the scholars who try to reconstruct Cuban history from this embarrassment of recorded riches.

Today's tourists are not yesterday's travelers. Tourism is a mass activity; most tourists visit Cuba to play on its beaches. They travel in response to what they have already heard about Cuba, and much of what they know was purposefully disseminated to lure them to the island, where they spend their money in relative comfort. They need not record their impressions because information abounds in guide books. The relationship between the tourist and Cuba is a commercial one.

On the other hand, nineteenth-century travelers were not the object of a profit-making industry. They often put themselves in jeopardy to visit cities,

countries, or regions about which little had been written. The very shortage of information drove them to travel and facilitated their finding publishers when they returned home. Some of the works, as Pérez notes, were careless, frivolous, biased, and/or erroneous; others afford us a valuable opportunity to share experiences. Pérez has been advisedly selective, and this book is useful because of the paucity of non-official sources of information about Cuba.

Nevertheless, *Slaves, Sugar, and Colonial Society* disappoints. It has been cobbled together, a patchwork that exhibits little effort; it hardly seems worthy of Pérez, considered the pre-eminent U.S. scholar of Cuban history. His introduction is neither gracefully written nor particularly enlightening. As a unifying theme, he selected "change," not an unwarranted choice for Cuba's dynamic nineteenth century, but certainly unimpressive. The first three paragraphs of his introduction (p. xi) begin: "The nineteenth century was a time of change in Cuba," "Change was a recurring phenomenon on the island" and "Cuba was in transition during much of the nineteenth century."

Despite this emphasis on change, the readings seem static. They convey a slice of life, a description tied to a particular experience. Pérez has not fulfilled his responsibility to reveal the ways in which each account adds to our understanding and appreciation of the pace and nature of the alterations that overwhelmed Cuba. He has simply excerpted the material without indicating why he chose particular passages, what he hoped to demonstrate, or even who the authors were and why one observer might have been more credible than another. The reader should know that David Turnbull was a British consul in Cuba at a time when Britain tried to end the slave trade, that Abiel Abbot was a Protestant minister and not unbiased in his attitudes toward Cuban Catholicism, that Julia Ward Howe was a feminist and anti-slavery activist. All of the accounts bear the mark of comparison and often convey a smug superiority, a uniformity which Pérez does not address.

Pérez organized the selection under eight topics – Havana; sugar plantations; slaves and slavery; crime and punishment; church, state, and religion; health, education, and charity; rural life; and nineteenth-century society – but neglects to explain his rationale for this scheme. Is it in response to some imperative of Cuban history, determined by the interests of the travelers, or simply arbitrary? We do not know what time of year it was when any particular traveler described a sugar plantation, slavery, or activity in Havana; or what was happening in Spain that might have affected conditions in Cuba. These are critical omissions. We do know that the accounts tell us nothing of the eastern end of the island, even though discontents that resulted in independence struggles were acutely felt there. We also know that some of the material included in travel accounts was not personally observed but rather

gleaned from reading or repeated "statements and anecdotes" (p. 123). What difference does that make in our evaluation of the account?

Given Pérez's *Lords of the Mountain*, the absence of references to banditry was a surprise, but the whole section on rural life was rather dull. Fredrika Bremer wrote of sociability among the wives of rural estates, and Julia Ward Howe recounted – with righteous indignation addressed to her feminist sisters – Cubans' prohibition of her attendance at that most popular of Cuban pastimes, the cockfight. Their lively renditions of social life, as well as Abiel Abbot's expressed concerns about confrontations with runaway slaves on dark roads, could have perked up a section dominated by a detailed catalog of buildings on a coffee plantation.

I fully understand the limitations inherent in this type of book. In their desire to make this book useful to students, the author and publisher have included as much descriptive material as possible. They have, however, forgotten that nineteenth-century travelers were adventurers as well as chroniclers. The element of risk and hazard has been forsaken. We have lost the flavor of adventure without gaining a sense of the political turmoil and social unrest that Pérez tells us characterized the period and the place. It is not a good trade. In short, this "*Reader's Digest*" of nineteenth-century travel accounts satisfies neither the intellect nor the spirit.

REFERENCE

- PÉREZ, LOUIS A., JR., 1989. *Lords of the Mountain: Social Banditry and Peasant Protest in Cuba, 1878-1918*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Cuba in Transition: Crisis and Transformation. SANDOR HALEBSKY & JOHN M. KIRK (eds.), with CAROLEE BENGELSDORF, RICHARD L. HARRIS, JEAN STUBBS & ANDREW ZIMBALIST. Boulder CO: Westview, 1992. xi + 244 pp. (Cloth US\$ 54.95, Paper US\$ 18.95)

SUSAN ECKSTEIN
Department of Sociology
Boston University
Boston MA 02215, U.S.A.

Cuba in Transition: Crisis and Transformation contains essays on Cuba's economy, polity, and social life at the eve of the collapse of Soviet bloc socialism. Edited by veteran Cuban compendium organizers, the contributions were first presented in what was probably the largest conference ever on Cuba, in Halifax in 1989. The articles have been somewhat updated to take into account developments after the conference.

On the polity there are articles by James Petras and Morris Morley, Max Azicri, Sheryl Lutjens, and Richard Harris; they deal with the so-called "rectification process" of the latter 1980s, democracy, and bureaucratic tendencies. The economic section includes articles assessing overall developments since 1959 and restructuring at the start of the 1990s by Sergio Roca, Archibald Ritter, and Gareth Jenkins. The book concludes with articles on society, single motherhood, sexuality, race, and culture, by Marguerite Rosenthal, Lois Smith, Gayle McGarrity, and Nelson Valdes. The editors of the book provide introductions to each section.

A number of the essays are informative and perceptive, but the contributions are unnecessarily repetitive, and neither the editors nor the contributors make any effort to reconcile contrasting interpretations of the same descriptive material. Because of space limitations, this review will focus on two of the eleven essays.

Petras and Morley's essay on the "new model of accumulation" should be "must" reading for anyone interested in Cuba since the mid-1980s. It is the most analytically interesting piece I have read on the period of "rectification," and it has substantial applicability for the 1990s (not described in their essay). In the second half of the 1980s Castro's government appeared to be defying world trends by becoming more driven by Marxism-Leninism and Guevarism. Yet the authors argue that the ideological shift resulted from intra-elite dynamics and a shift in inter-class alliances, rooted in tensions between "producer" and "comprador" elites and the increasing impingement of capitalist market dynamics. Their insightful analysis demystifies the meaning and significance of "rectification," shows Cuba at the time to be

less out of sync with world "liberalization" trends, and elucidates how and why Cuba began to come to terms with global capitalism long before the collapse of Soviet-bloc communism.

In an informative, interesting, and nuanced essay on sexuality and socialism, Lois Smith shows how Castro's government made a concerted effort to promote sexual gender equality and, in many respects, bourgeois family values, but in so doing generated unintended, unanticipated, and undesired consequences. She describes the government's efforts to create a "new socialist woman," a *machista* woman, who partakes in canecutting and construction, and who enjoys sexual freedom. Women's sexual emancipation meets up with family and male resistance, and contributes to a high teenage pregnancy rate, a high divorce rate, and a high abortion rate – despite knowledge of and easy access to contraceptives. She then outlines government efforts to address the problems its egalitarian gender commitment created, through a variety of sex education programs. In a very different way from Petras and Morley, Smith highlights forces that have constrained the socialist state in its efforts to remake society.

Although the essays vary in quality, taken together they allow for an improved understanding of Castro's Cuba. They do not capture the dramatic changes that have occurred since the dissolution of Soviet-bloc communism, but that does not deny their relevance.

Mito y cultura en la era de Trujillo. ANDRÉS L. MATEO. Santo Domingo: Librería La Trinitario/Instituto del Libro, 1993. 224 pp. (Paper n.p.)

MICHIEL BAUD
Department of History
Erasmus University
P.O. Box 1738
3000 DR Rotterdam, the Netherlands

Dictatorships and civil violence are often viewed in the countries of their existence as results of tragic misunderstandings, as historical accidents, perhaps because it is too painful to accept them as a more or less logical result of history. The Dominican Republic has provided a clear example of this suppression of historical analysis. Most Dominican intellectuals have treated the long Trujillo dictatorship (1930-61), with all its ruthless repression and cruelty, as a sad interlude, which took place, as it were, *outside* Dominican history. Only recently has this traumatic period of Dominican

history been the object of serious scientific research. Andrés Mateo's *Mito y cultura en la era de Trujillo* is an example of this new trend. The author, who teaches at the Universidad Autónoma in Santo Domingo, tries to come to grips with the ideology of the Trujillo regime and the position of the intellectuals who helped to shape this ideology.

By starting his analysis in the period before 1930, Mateo avoids the pitfall of analyzing the Trujillo regime as an isolated period in Dominican history and is able to lay bare the historical and intellectual foundations of Trujillista thinking. In the light of later events it is often forgotten that Trujillo's ascendance to power was actively supported by a broad popular and intellectual movement in 1930. The generation which had grown up during the U.S. occupation of the country (1916-24) and lived through the agitated times of nationalist mobilization were bitterly disappointed with the turn Dominican politics took after the departure of the marines under the government of Horacio Vásquez. Many therefore welcomed a changing of the guard. Even professed socialists supported Trujillo initially. In 1930, the young writer Tomás Hernández Franco wrote a small booklet called *La más bella revolución de America*, whose title clearly demonstrates the high hopes elicited by the coming to power of Trujillo.

Trujillo always obsessively tried to construct ideological legitimizations for his political power. For this purpose he made an eclectic and highly biased selection of existing nationalist symbols within Dominican society. Hispanophilia, anti-Haitian racism, anti-communism, and nationalism were all common themes in the Dominican Republic of the beginning of the twentieth century, but Trujillo transformed them into a coherent ideology geared toward the consolidation of his regime and the glorification of his person. The book shows how Trujillo had already before 1930 tried to befriend various intellectuals. He brought them together around a cultural magazine for the police, *La Revista*, which soon started to herald the virtues of Trujillo. This was the first stone of the enormous hagiographic edifice which Trujillo built around his person during the thirty-one years of his government. An interesting result of Trujillo's wish to be immortalized was his construction of an intellectual and cultural infrastructure in the country. This policy was carefully controlled and basically geared toward the consolidation of the regime and the deification of Trujillo, but it resulted in the establishment of important institutions such as the *Academia de Historia* and the *Archivo General de la Nación*. These institutions also created employment for the intellectuals who supported Trujillo and who, in this way, had the opportunity to create the voluminous body of hagiographic texts.

As the regime lasted longer and Trujillo's dependence on his intellectual clientele diminished, the results of the intellectual activity became less origi-

nal and more repetitive. In fact, Mateo states that repetition became the intellectual trademark of the period. Nevertheless, the regime continued to count on the support of a number of distinguished intellectuals, such as Manuel Arturo Peña Battle, Ramón Marrero Arísty, and Joaquín Balaguer. These men could become important ideologues of the Trujillo regime because they shared the basic ideas of the dictator. They considered the Dominican Republic as a "European" and Catholic nation and, above all, were obsessed by the Haitian menace. The major part of their work was meant to prove that the Haitians did not possess historical rights to the island and were racially and culturally inferior to the "white" Dominicans. Only later were these themes complemented by a violent anti-communism which was directed above all against Rómulo Betancourt in Venezuela and Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala.

Andrés Mateo has written an interesting and concise book about the ideology and ideologues of the Trujillo period. Although it does not present much new information, it is the first comprehensive intellectual history of the period. The attention he devotes to the period before 1930 presents an interesting and necessary perspective to a crucial period in Dominican history. It opens new roads for research which focus on the characteristics of the Dominican ideas about nation and ethnicity. His book is obligatory reading for anyone interested in the political and intellectual development of the Dominican Republic in the twentieth century.

Medio ambiente, seguridad y cooperación regional en el Caribe. ANDRÉS SERBIN (ed.). Caracas: Editorial Nueva Sociedad, 1992. 147 pp. (Paper n.p.)

EDGARDO MELÉNDEZ
Department of Political Science
University of Puerto Rico
Río Piedras, Puerto Rico 00931

Ecology has become a widely debated issue in national and global politics since the 1980s. In the field of international relations, eco-politics – the interface between ecology and politics – has increased the number of its supporters now that the realist paradigm, which emphasized security issues and conflict, has weakened its influence within the discipline. Since the Sprouts published their very influential book, *Toward a Politics of the Planet Earth*, in the very early seventies, the so-called "ecological perspective" has focused on explaining the relationship between human beings, society, and

the environment. The concept of ecopolitics has advanced a new perspective on international relations, as ecological factors are used to redefine the notion of security.

The book under review addresses the issue of regional environmental security and cooperation in the Caribbean; it is the result of a long-term project developed by the Instituto Venezolano de Estudios Sociales y Políticos (INVESP). The project's objective is to diagnose the environmental situation in the Caribbean and to provide policy-makers with recommendations for a more effective regional environmental policy. The book reflects the interdisciplinary perspective that defines the research project, with scholars representing different disciplines and Caribbean countries. The interdisciplinary approach is a major strength of the book, but it is also its main weakness. The objective – to study the ecological issue from different perspectives – is commendable, but it also causes the book to lack a general thematic and conceptual thread. For students of international relations, some of the articles become too technical and empirical and do not address the specific aspects that the book title announces. Nevertheless, the book discusses very effectively the range of ecological issues affecting the Caribbean. For those interested in international ecopolitics, there is enough in the book to make it worthwhile reading.

Editor Andrés Serbin provides an introductory theoretical and analytical discussion of regional environmental security and cooperation in the Caribbean. He argues that changes in the international political structure and in the paradigms that dominated the discipline of international relations have made it possible to reframe the concept of security, downplaying its militaristic aspect and producing a more broadly defined category, one that includes environmental matters. But although the notion of environmental security is now accepted by policy-makers and academics alike, there are still differences in conception between nations (North vs. South) and within societies (governments vs. environmental organizations) that prevent agreements on policies and actions. Since Serbin argues that the global policy supported by international organizations that is required to attain environmental security seems unlikely in the near future, the process of environmental cooperation seems more feasible on the regional level. He cautions, nevertheless, that environmental cooperation and agreements will be limited in the Caribbean due to political, economic, ethnic, geographical, and linguistic differences.

Antonio de Lisio elaborates on the concept of sustainable development and argues that it may become a new kind of developmentalism. He criticizes liberal and neoliberal theories for relying too much on the market forces to manage the relationship between production and the environ-

ment; theories of sustainable development, on the other hand, emphasize state regulations that may be contradictory with environmental conservation and do not see any environmental limits to economic development. De Lisio proposes a holistic ("integralista") view of ecodevelopment, one that implies an approach to development not based solely on the market and that sees limits to human exploitation of the environment. He thinks the possibility of reaching economic schemes compatible with the environment in Latin America and the Caribbean is quite slim, since economic and environmental issues are seen in conflict with each other, and concludes that regional cooperation is the only way to solve common environmental problems.

Francine Jácome and Glenn Sankatsing discuss the main issues that promote or limit environmental cooperation in the Caribbean from the perspective of the three major environmental actors in the region: international organizations, local states, and non-governmental organizations. They argue that the impact of international organizations in regional environmental policy has been restricted, not only because of the scant resources and influence that they may wield, but also because these organizations promote environmental perspectives from the industrialized world that are not acceptable to the underdeveloped countries of the region. The region's states have not solved the dilemma posed by the centrifugal forces of conflict and cooperation; while common environmental problems pressure governments towards regional cooperation, economic concerns push for individual action. The impact of non-governmental organizations has also been limited, since the mostly foreign NGOs are seen as intervening unduly in local affairs. Jácome and Sankatsing nevertheless also conclude that regional cooperation is the only way to solve common environmental problems.

Alfredo César Dachary and Stella M. Arnaiz discuss another perspective on the relationship between economic development and the environment: the development of tourism in the western Caribbean. They argue that the development of a mass-tourism industry in the area has been based on foreign economic models, with no interest in the ecological protection of local resources. While profits are exported, the local communities of the region are left with environmental degradation. Jorge Corredor reviews the marine environmental problems of the region, arguing that solutions to these can be managed at the local, regional, or international level depending on the issue at hand and at the level of complexity. Analyzing the relationship between space and environmental use in the Caribbean, J.P. Chardon argues that the regions's geographical space has not been adequately utilized by the successive human communities that have exploited its natural resources in modern

times, due mostly to the foreign models of economic exploitation and development. The final chapter, by Kaldone Nweihed, provides a useful inventory of the multiple international agreements on environmental cooperation and protection that are effective in the Caribbean.

REFERENCE

SPROUT, HAROLD H. & MARGARET T. SPROUT, 1971. *Toward a Politics of the Planet Earth*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Islanders in the Stream: A History of the Bahamian People. Volume One: From Aboriginal Times to the End of Slavery. MICHAEL CRATON & GAIL SAUNDERS. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992. xxxiii + 455 pp. (Cloth US\$ 60.00)

DEAN W. COLLINWOOD
Department of Sociology & Anthropology
Weber State University
Ogden UT 84408-1208, U.S.A.

For a long time, scholars have been awaiting publication of a solid, comprehensive history of the Bahamas. They need wait no longer, for Michael Craton and Gail Saunders have produced the finest work to date on the early period of Bahamian history. Earlier works served general readers well, but lacked the breadth and scholarship of the present volume. Far from flawless, *Islanders* will nevertheless delight readers with its careful coverage of such topics as the early Bermuda-Bahamas connection, the rise and fall of piracy, economic and political relations with the surrounding New World colonies, the culture of the slaves, and the rise of the ruling oligarchy and the colored classes – all done with a judicious mixture of general thematic overviews and mini-case studies.

For instance, in one important chapter the authors provide a solid demographic analysis of the slave population as a whole in the 1800s, and then augment the quantitative analysis with a tantalizing description of the daily routine of slaves on a single Out Island estate, as recorded in a diary of the period. Similarly, after thoroughly overviews the key events surrounding the arrival and settlement of the Loyalists in the Bahamas in the late 1700s, they take readers into the comfortable parlors and glittering dance halls of

the island elites themselves, as seen through the eyes of two visiting American tourists.

Craton and Saunders's artful exposition highlights the following themes: the marginality of the Bahamas as seen from the eyes of the grand empire builders in London; the precariousness of the Bahamian economy – even in the best of times – and its dependence on outside events (as true today as ever); the complexity of the class structure – including a large free black and colored class – compared to Caribbean and mainland plantation societies; the inability of the ruling elites to fully implement their lifestyle in the face of countervailing pressures from the fragile economy and the increasingly powerful free black and slave cultures; and most significantly, the relative “softness” of Bahamian slavery compared to other contemporary slave societies.

The slave system in the Bahamas, say the authors, allowed for high rates of miscegenation, large numbers of manumissions (even in the early 1700s), a physically and demographically healthy population, and a strong nuclear and extended family tradition among blacks (a point so significant and counter-intuitive that it could have benefitted from more evidence). Owners were often hard-pressed to find enough work to keep their slaves busy and so allowed them to grow and sell their own produce in Nassau or engage in coastal fishing in their owners' boats (the mariner slaves, in particular, living as if they were free). Even the slave laws were “less severe” than in other colonies. Thus, by the time slavery was abolished in 1834, 50 percent of the Bahamian population (my estimate is 60 percent) was already free, and many of the remaining were “practically free.”

As with any undertaking of this magnitude there are some infelicities and lacunae. There is reason, for example, to question the inclusion of a section (nearly sixty pages long) on the Lucayans in a book subtitled “A History of the Bahamian People.” Moreover, the second subtitle, “From Aboriginal Times to the End of Slavery,” stands in oxymoronic relation to the first, since there were certainly no people alive in aboriginal times who called themselves or were called “Bahamian.” It has become fashionable among Bahamians lately to claim some preternatural bond with the archipelago's indigenes; poets have waxed romantic about them, and Family Islanders have shown more interest than usual in the goings-on at local archeological digs. But, unlike other settlers who had to confront their continental predecessors, the first Bahamian settlers waded ashore to islands that had been devoid of Lucayan inhabitants for nearly a century and a half. Thus, except for some common adaptation to the natural environment (a point treated only *en passant*) the two cultures had little or nothing to do with each other.

Rather than Lucayans, this reader would have preferred expanded sec-

tions on the pre-Loyalist era (as with other historians, these authors seem rather enthralled by the Loyalist period), on the lifeways of the poor whites (white elites get far too much attention in the narrative) and free blacks and coloreds, who probably shaped Bahamian culture as much as did the institution of slavery. Other topics, too, needed more attention. Except for a brief treatment of the construction of government buildings and one or two churches in Nassau, the authors virtually neglect the development of roads, buildings, and other infrastructural features, especially in the Out Islands. And the excessive stress on the institution of slavery leaves little room for treating the development of other key institutions in society, particularly the mercantile establishment in Nassau. These lapses notwithstanding, *Islanders* is a welcome work, and one looks forward eagerly to the publication of Volume II.

Masters of Paradise: Organized Crime and the Internal Revenue Service in the Bahamas. ALAN A. BLOCK. New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1991. vii + 319 pp. (Cloth US\$ 29.95)

GARY BRANA-SHUTE
National Foreign Affairs Training Center
Arlington VA 22204, U.S.A.

Growing up in New York, we never called them the "Mafia" – there being, as we shrewdies knew it, no such thing. Instead, the organized crime community was known generally as the "mob" and individual mobsters as "wise guys." Whatever your nomenclature, they are there aplenty in the Bahamas and have been since Meyer Lansky smelled the winds of change in Havana in the late 1950s and made for the then-sleepy town of Freeport, Grand Bahama.

Alan Block, a professor of justice administration at Pennsylvania State University, set out, in his densely documented but journalistically written exposé of international crime, to follow "the history of contemporary Bahamian development beginning with Freeport ... and the creation of Resorts International [casino gambling], next the origins of Operation Tradewinds [an Internal Revenue Service covert investigation], the criminality of Robert Vesco, and subsequently the entire Castle Bank affair [international money laundering]" (pp. 18-19). Block succeeds and writes with vigor and authority on devilishly complicated scams and immensely financed ties of clientelism that bound bent lawyers and gangsters together in secret, deadly

pacts. His research relied primarily on I.R.S. "Operation Tradewinds" documents and interviews with justice officials. There are good guys and bad guys in this case and Block represents the "feds" – thus making the book rather "formalistic" and taking away the punch of what investigative journalists like Seymour Hersh or Woodward and Bernstein could have brought to the case study. Although superbly documented, I would not place it in an exclusively "academic" category.

The Bahamas' dreary decline into systemic corruption began in the waning days of the Bay Street Boys' control over the country's colonial financial sector. This white cartel of businessmen had already collaborated with a notable swindler named Wallace Groves who was granted immense concessions on Grand Bahama so long as he greased the "Boys." But precisely when Block starts talking about the Bahamas the book is at its weakest, or, certainly, least satisfying for the readership of this journal. This is a book about international crime; the activities only happen to take place in the Bahamas. More quaintly, the Bahamas serve only as a stage set and all the questions that country-specialists or Caribbeanists would ask remain unanswered – and, for that matter, unasked.

Casino gambling and loan sharking in the 1960s was followed by money laundering, and the Bahamas joined in the illicit international gambit of providing tax havens for the more than \$350 billion of hidden assets accumulated by everything from narcotics trafficking to waitresses' tips. The I.R.S. launched its covert investigation in the 1960s only to see the elaborate program wither and die because of federal government squabbling and turf battles. Narcotics, transhipped through the lilliput archipelago, became the divisive and most deadly corruption issue of the 1980s and the parade of mainline and borderline scum such as Robert Vesco, Bebe Rebozo, Howard Hughes, and lesser figures with names such as "dum-dum," "fish head," and "the blade" were joined by Carlos Lehder and the Colombian cartel(s). Merv Griffin and (The) Donald Trump would join this illustrious group a decade later. Readers of this book will learn of the international "serious crime community" – organized and white collar criminals, their international connections, and the failed efforts of the U.S. federal government to stop their activities or, for that matter, to seriously interrupt them. Those who will want more data and analysis on the Bahamas or the region as a whole – including other gambling/crime/laundrying/narco-transshipping/corrupt "small places" as Jamaica Kincaid (1988) would charmingly call them, such as the Netherlands Antilles (particularly St. Maarten), Antigua, Panama, and the Cayman Islands – will turn the pages in frustration and increasing impatience. A statement like "the unbounded corruption of Bahamian politicians ... totally submitting to illicit interests" begs queries such as who, when,

where, and how, and a host of other sociological issues ranging from peer group deals to national political culture. What, for example, is the impact on these "small places" and how is national security redefined?

In the 1960s, we are told, Meyer Lansky (again!) could see the writing on the wall in the Bahamas (too!) and favored alliances with the young, up and coming black "radical" (he wasn't) Lyndon Pindling who would go on to govern the Bahamas for twenty-five years after independence. Lansky "wanted to be on the right side of history ... and not lose out as political change swept the island ... helping sweep the Bays Street Boys out" (p. 72). Is this guy prescient or what? "Pindling was inexpensive in those early days" follows (p. 72). However, the author neglects the rock'em-sock'em dynamics of local politics, any notion of the population and its socio-economic condition, or for that matter even a basic geography, and consequently leaves the reader stunned by oversimplified one-liners. The racketeers and the new black political leaders walk hand-in-hand to greater levels of wealth and moral turpitude. All of them I guess.

The United States, through the primary instruments of the military, coast guard, Drug Enforcement Administration, and Central Intelligence Agency, are still at work in the Bahamas. The smaller Cays continue to hemorrhage narcotics despite huge radar airships hung in the sky like obscene aluminum birthday balloons by "OPBAT" (Operation Bahamas, Turks and Caicos, get it?). A country study would be useful and an evaluation of the consequences of institutional corruption for a country or region would be very welcome, along the lines of Tony Maingot's 1993 "The Internationalization of Corruption and Violence."

One thing Block established, and established well, is the extensive and complicated network of international organized crime and how, in this case, a Caribbean country proved again that it is, was, and will be part of the international system.

REFERENCES

KINCAID, JAMAICA, 1988. *A Small Place*. New York: Farrar, Straus Giroux.

MAINGOT, ANTHONY P., 1993. The Internationalization of Corruption and Violence: Threats to the Caribbean in the Post-Cold War World. In Jorge I. Domínguez, Robert A. Pastor & R. Delisle Worrel (eds.), *Democracy in the Caribbean: Political, Economic, and Social Perspectives*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 42-56.

The Jamaican People 1880-1902. PATRICK BRYAN. London: Macmillan Caribbean, 1991. xiv + 300 pp. (Paper £10.95)

MICHAELINE CRICHLAW
Department of Sociology
St. Lawrence University
Canton NY 13617, U.S.A.

Patrick Bryan's book highlights the construction and workings of post-emancipation society from the vantage point of a declining British empire that, incidentally, was being challenged (at least economically) on all fronts, not least by its former colony, the United States. Bryan wants readers to assess the endeavors by the British colonizers to fashion an Anglo-Saxon society out of a colony whose birth (as an area of world production) encompassed a violent process that included the binding of Africans into slavery, and the responses of the now-freed population to these endeavors.

His argument is that social darwinism and positivism guided British hegemony over its colonial subjects. Both these philosophies justified white superiority and shaped the morals of the social order. Bryan's discussion of the social institutions and patterns of everyday existence seems to affirm this argument. He takes readers on a tour of colonial Jamaica and examines the salient aspects of British rule. He restates the old argument about the paternalism of Crown Colony government. Through control of the government, the colonizers reinforced the belief that whiteness – particularly unadulterated empire whiteness, as opposed to creole Jamaican whiteness – was the criterion for sound leadership. Whiteness underscored empire and vice versa. "The glitter of empire had a broad appeal and served, just as Crown Colony government did, to reinforce a continued belief in white leadership" (p. 18). Here, then, was the basis of British hegemony in the colony. According to Bryan, this ideology percolated through several social institutions, such as marriage, education, and the family. The Victorian ideal of the nuclear family, the role of women, and marriage contributed to the maintenance of order, as women came to realize their role in the home and men their responsibilities to their wives and families. It was Victorian but it served in Jamaica to impose an Anglo-Saxon view of gender roles and respectability. Religion was another institution through which the colonial subjects could be made civilized. Bryan argues that there were clear links between Christianity and empire. Orthodox Protestant religions were seen as critical to the maintenance of social order. Thus, he concludes that the positivists' view of society permeated religion as it did all other institutions.

One of the main contradictions of colonial rule during this period seemed

to be the absence of support for building workable solutions for the problems of declining revenues in the colony. As others have argued before him, Bryan supports the view that even in the face of declining revenues, Crown Colony government sought to prop up the shaky plantation "system." Furthermore, it never seemed to bother the British that the project of "civilization" needed healthy, educated "subjects" and the colony's infrastructure needed much rehauling. As a result, education and health suffered immensely and infrastructural requirements of the colony were in a constant state of disrepair.

Bryan's description of the ranks of the society, and the varied responses to the prevailing ideology of colonialism, calls into question his general viewpoint that colonialism's project had a totalizing effect. He chronicles the occurrences of riots and disturbances, the challenges posed by the resilience of Afro-Jamaican religions, the alternative families that Jamaicans constructed, and the heterogeneous responses of the black intelligentsia, but is unable to account for them analytically and theoretically.

There is a sense in which the author is too smugly judgmental. He yearns for revolution but fails to highlight the limitations of both folk and intelligentsia to move beyond the reformist adaptive modes of resistance. The black intelligentsia he focuses on were caught between two cultures: that of the folk and that of the elite. He fails to explore the tensions between the two and the obvious overlap, which was considerable in several cases. Bryan believes the straddling of these two worlds accounts for the vacillation of the black intelligentsia. Why vacillation? Bryan has in mind the making of a revolution if the black intelligentsia had united with the folk. But his retelling of history neglects facts about the revolution that was in the making. If revolution was an option, then what prevented that big bang? What kinds of new institutions would have been possible then? Perhaps the confusion could have been resolved had class and race been treated as processes rather than as absolute constants. I believe the author would not have been surprised to find that ethnic solidarity and/or cultural unity was being undermined, and redefined, by the processes of capitalist development in the colony.

Indeed, one of the weaknesses of Bryan's arguments is that he fails to explore, theoretically, the implications of the intensity of social differentiation underway in the colony at the time, and its meaning for social action among the various social groups in Jamaica. If he had, I think he would have explored the idea that there was no thick forest separating reform and revolution, and there is nothing more revolutionary than oppressed citizenry of every rank attempting to shake off the shackles of inferiority that accompanied British empire building, and constructing a society, however reformist. In spite of his arguments, ideological orientation, and ten-

tative theorizing, Bryan's richly detailed book, aptly titled *The Jamaican People*, makes an invaluable contribution to the study of West Indian history.

The Power of Sentiment: Love, Hierarchy, and the Jamaican Family Elite. LISA DOUGLASS. Boulder CO: Westview, 1992. xviii + 298 pp. (Cloth US\$ 38.50)

FAYE V. HARRISON
Department of Anthropology
University of Tennessee-Knoxville
Knoxville TN 37996, U.S.A.

This book is a theoretically sophisticated and ethnographically rich analysis of the workings and meanings of marriage, family, and kinship among Jamaica's white business elite. Lisa Douglass offers an insightfully nuanced study of a relatively low-profile facet of Jamaican society and culture that, in some respects, has been just as subject to stereotyping and misconception as the much more intensely scrutinized lower class. Besides enhancing our knowledge of the culture and social organization of Jamaica's elite, Douglass's most impressive contribution lies in her perceptive illumination of gender's integral role in the total socio-cultural order. Few studies in the abundant literature on gender and family in the Caribbean elucidate the ideological constructions, organizational principles, and practices that comprise the class and racial politics of gender as effectively as this ethnography.

The Power of Sentiment probes the moral and virtually sacred power of sentiments and emotions such as love, as they invest meaning in the everyday and ritual life of Jamaica's elite family structure. Douglass designates elite families as "family elite" because of the centrality of an idiom of family in the upper-class and because of the widespread tendency of Jamaicans to associate power and wealth with an exclusive circle of bourgeois families – the so-called "twenty-one families." In Douglass's view, the family elite, whose sentiment-anchored beliefs and identity are intensely resistant to fundamental change, represents the principal locus for perpetuating salient forms of socially-defined difference and submerged hierarchies of power. The book is at once a study of elite families in relation to what R.T. Smith calls a dual marriage system (juxtaposing legally-sanctioned marriage with the "outside relations" embodied in concubinage and common-law unions) and a study of the major principles of distinction that constitute an enduring system of interpenetrating social hierarchies, namely those of color, class,

and gender. The persistence and perpetuation of these interlocking hierarchies constitute a major obstacle to the transformations necessary to create greater opportunities for realizing the egalitarianist and meritocratic values. Yet, the elite family has been assumed to be a model worth emulating while that of the lower class has been viewed as a "social problem" undermining progress and requiring policy intervention. Douglass refreshes us with a more balanced perspective that transcends the utilitarian rationalism of economic treatments of bourgeois family power and demystifies the sacred aura that obscures color, class, and gender hierarchization from being recognized as a problem of serious magnitude. Indeed, what is often assumed to be the problematic lower class penchant for "illegitimacy" and "promiscuity" is tied to the very structure of kinship that encompasses the family elite.

Although descended primarily from post-emancipation immigrants – upwardly mobile males – from Europe and, to a lesser extent, the Middle East, from Sephardic Jewish patriarchs who occupied a marginal status in colonial society, and from largely uncommemorated foremothers – white, brown, and black – who married and/or procreated hypergamously in the color/class hierarchy, the contemporary elite is socially defined as "white" and has been just as subject to the differentiating processes of creolization as have all other segments of Jamaican society. Contrary to analysts who view the local elite as either a separate cultural section lacking any national allegiance or an embodiment of transplanted European culture or foreign capital, Douglass underscores the family elite's embeddedness in the larger socio-cultural order.

While having virtually no genealogical ties to the historic planter elite, today's upper-class constructs its socio-cultural identity and legitimates its distinctiveness by creating continuity with the patriarchal plantocratic past. The largely commercial bourgeoisie has undergone a process of gentrification by means of a planter ideology and life style reflected in the architecture and interior decorating of uptown and country homes, and to a lesser extent, in investments in land and agriculture. Despite this plantocratic imagery and the considerable social distance separating the elite from the masses, there are important convergences and juxtapositions that bind the classes together in a single socio-cultural order. Through participation in common discourses framed by mass media and popular culture, the family elite is fully integrated into public culture. The family elite is also tied to less privileged social sectors through the outside relations of kinship, which Douglass distinguishes from family, and this family provides the most exclusive and enduring basis of intra-class solidarity and love.

Similar to their lower-class counterparts, upper-class families live their

daily lives in inter-household entities with a single household, usually that of the most senior family member, serving as a centralizing “yard” for “liming.” Across several households family members exchange goods (e.g., food), services, and people (both relatives and employees). Uptown families also share with their downtown counterparts a number of key organizing principles, among them: the juxtaposition and intersection of marriage and concubinage, greater emphasis on family (defined in both consanguineal and fictive terms) than on conjugal relations, matrifocal or female-centered household organization (despite male dominance within the family), the formation of domestic units across households, and gender-role differentiation that permits men to disperse economic resources but requires that women concentrate them. The model Douglass draws of the Jamaican marriage/family/kinship system is based on R.T. Smith’s conceptualization of a dual marriage system embodying variant hierarchically-related forms specific to different classes and racial/ethnic groups. But Douglass enhances Smith’s formulation by amplifying the gender dimension, which operates along with class and color in family and kinship formation in both intra- and intergroup contexts. In both marriage and outside relations, there is an intrinsic power imbalance, grounded in hypergamy and a “cult of masculinity,” that favors men and disadvantages women – even the bourgeois “ladies” culturally-defined as categorically different from less privileged “women.” In elite marriages male superiority is manifested in age (husbands are usually older than wives), educational attainment (men are better educated), career patterns (wives are often housewives), and financial control (business is a masculinist domain). Moreover, patriarchy is publicly displayed before the wider elite community through the performance of “man-of-words” rituals – speeches – at weddings and other rites of passage.

In her analysis, Douglass expands the concept of ideology by adding the emotional and moral dimensions of sentiment to the more conventionally recognized cognitive elements that inform hegemony – i.e., the realm of unarticulated phenomena misrecognized as natural and immutable. As historically derived and culturally meaningful embodied experience, sentiment is not a mask for power but a form of power that derives its force from the inviolable values that give life meaning. The sense of sacredness invested in expressions of family sentiments sustains patterns of domination by rendering emotion-based practices unquestionable and change-resistant. The expression of dominance and hierarchy in daily discourses and practices, then, does not usually occur as a conscious effort to perpetuate the status quo. It always occurs, however, “with a conviction about order and a sense of propriety that is thoroughly embodied and deeply felt” (p.

258). Such conviction results in the overall pattern of hierarchy being reproduced despite minor fluctuations and shifts in the meaning and enforcement of principles of distinction. For instance, the "crossing the boundary" that results in cross-color/class marriages is an exceptional practice that has the dual advantage of introducing new talent and resources into the elite while managing an impression of openness and ambiguity that masks the elite marriage system's stability.

Douglass has written an important book and a rich ethnography that deserves to be read by those interested in elites and class dynamics, kinship and social organization, the social construction of whiteness, and gender in its intersections with color/race and class. Her study offers an insightful window on Jamaica during the 1980s when, in contrast to the reformist tenor of the 1970s, social well-being redefined by a consumerist ideology, development redefined in terms of privatization and export market growth, and economic restoration accompanied by an implicit "denigration of blackness [symbolizing shortages and inflation] and [an] elevation of whiteness [symbolizing dollars and wealth]" (Robotham 1993:13). The Jamaican family elite that Douglass encountered was firmly embedded in this historically-specific context of conservative change and the reconstruction of meanings and order it engendered.

REFERENCE

ROBOTHAM, DON. 1993. The Dislocation of Values in the English-speaking Caribbean: The Jamaica Case. Unpublished paper. Department of Anthropology. University of Chicago Alumnae Conference.

Songs of Freedom: From "Judge Not" to "Redemption Song." BOB MARLEY. Kingston: Tuff Gong/Bob Marley Foundation / London: Island Records, 1992 (limited edition). 63 pp. + 4 compact discs. (£40.98)

FRANK JAN VAN DIJK
Van Limburg Stirumlaan 36
3445 CE Woerden, the Netherlands

Songs of Freedom consists of glossy photographs, brief descriptions of the songs on the accompanying CD's, and short contributions from several authors. Rob Patridge, Island Records' former director of press, opens with

the statement that the songs of "Bob Marley & The Wailers have worked their way into the very fabric of our lives" (p. 7). After briefly tracing the roots of "the street culture of Jamaica" and, of course, Rastafari, he sketchily but adequately describes Marley's life and work. Timothy White relates how Eric Clapton's 1974 recording of Marley's *I Shot the Sheriff* came about. Clapton's cover made a number-one hit in the American charts and gave an important impetus to Marley's later triumphs. Interesting detail: the British blues guitarist hardly knew what the song was all about. White, the author of a sensitive biography on Marley (1989), also gives a personal impression of the King of Reggae, presenting him as the only true leader of the Jamaican sufferers, "a leader who needn't run for office ... a person with the courage to act on hope, a role model whose own voice is the mirror of his conscience" (p. 45).

The *Songs of Freedom* booklet does not provide much information that has not already and far more extensively been forwarded in one of the many publications on Marley and reggae music. But, however well-informed, imaginative, and penetrating some of the previous accounts may be, none of them comes near to grasping the essence of Marley's work. Music cannot, by definition, be adequately described in words only. Reading about reggae or Marley is like studying Ndembu ritual symbolism from a London armchair.

The four discs of *Songs of Freedom* contain seventy-seven songs, together almost five hours of music. It is not a "Best of ..." or "Greatest Hits," but a fine selection of Marley's musical legacy, from the first obscure ska tracks of the early 1960s to the very last live recording before a massive audience at Pittsburgh in 1980. The most attractive quality of the album is that it consists largely of previously unreleased songs, original recordings (and less interesting remixes of well-known hits), and historic singles not included on previous albums.

It offers, for example, *Iron Lion Zion* from the early 1970s, recently "discovered in Rita's vaults" (p. 36). The song, in a slightly different remix, was released in 1993 as a single and became a modest hit in Europe, which once again demonstrated that Marley's music is not merely an ephemeral phenomenon.

Among the original recordings are *One Love/People Get Ready* in a jumpy 1965 ska version and a "wailing" rock steady version of *Stir It Up* (1967). Comparison with the rock-and-roll/reggae versions which later became international hits on Chris Blackwell's Island label reveals the extent to which reggae was adapted and commercialized to suit the preferences and taste of a youthful Western audience. Live or 12" (re-)mixes of songs like *No Woman No Cry*, *I Shot The Sheriff*, *Could You Be Loved*, or *Exodus* are predominantly of interest for collectors. Previous albums already included

various live and studio versions of these "greatest." That, however, is not the case with *Simmer Down* (1963), at the time an important stylistic innovation and the Wailers' first hit single in the Jamaican charts; *Jah Live* (1974), a passionate statement of unshakable faith recorded shortly after Haile Selassie's "disappearance"; and *Smile Jamaica*, the beautiful theme song of the 1976 peace concert urging politicians and voters to "get things together right now."

Perhaps the major weakness of *Songs of Freedom* is that the lyrics are not transcribed. But even so, this collection of the work of one of the most influential artists from the Caribbean is a welcome and valuable publication. It deserves the serious attention of anyone interested in reggae, Rastafari, or Caribbean culture.

REFERENCE

WHITE, TIMOTHY. 1989. *Catch a Fire: The Life of Bob Marley* (revised and enlarged edition). New York: Henry Holt. [Orig. 1983.]

From Plots to Plantations: Land Transactions in Jamaica, 1866-1900.
VERONT M. SATCHELL. Mona: University of the West Indies, 1990. xiii + 197 pp. (Paper J\$ 130.00, US\$ 16.50)

RIVA BERLEANT-SCHILLER
Department of Anthropology
University of Connecticut
Torrington CT 06790, U.S.A.

Emancipation in Jamaica brought a new pattern of land tenure that included both the persistence of large estates and the burgeoning of small holdings occupied by freed slaves. This pattern was not unusual in the British Caribbean, even though local factors such as population density, condition of the sugar economy, and amount of unused land led to variations from one territory to another. These variations have been and continue to be an important research subject. In many parts of the British Caribbean, the number of small freeholds grew in the face of metropolitan policies and local biases on the part of the planter-governing elites that blocked the purchase of land by free people. But even though many more people desired freeholds than could acquire them, they could occupy small plots in lease-

village or how she gathered her data, the sparse results suggest a brief period of residence conducting surveys and short informal interviews.

Family land – inalienable communal land ownership by some or all of the descendants of the original property owner-occupier – has received much attention by policy makers and anthropologists, most of whom, Barrow argues, “have seen it as a serious impediment to agricultural innovation and development and have roundly condemned the system” (p. 1). In particular, she contends that the material from Tete Chemin challenges the following assertions about family land: that it is excessively subdivided; that it is a bureaucratic nuisance; that it is farmed mainly by aged, less productive, and less innovative people; that it offers those working it little security over the fruits of their labor; that it cannot be pledged for credit; that it is unmarketable; and that it is a source of much family strife.

Though the study is logically presented and integrated, and is a useful reminder of the many features of family land, Barrow’s challenge of these “stereotypes presented in the literature” (p. 55) is flawed by some straw men and a meager data base. First, much of the material presented to prove that family land in St. Lucia has been called wasteful and inefficient comes not from that island but from research carried out in Guyana (p. 5), Providencia (p. 6), St. Vincent (pp. 5-6), Jamaica (pp. 3, 5, 7), and Grenada (p. 7). Second, though negative views about family land may be held by many government officials, development planners, and one or two geographers, “condemnation” hardly fits the position of anthropologists, all of whom have treated family land as a fundamental – perhaps *the* fundamental – normative feature of rural life in the English-speaking Caribbean. Third, family land as such has been criticized in communities characterized by market and crop diversity and underused or idle land, a situation that hardly fits Tete Chemin where “virtually every arable acre is devoted to bananas and everyone in the community is connected with [foreign market] production” (p. 37). In other words, rather than showing that family land does not inhibit “agricultural development or productivity,” Barrow has shown either that Tete Chemin is an anomaly or that the form of land tenure is irrelevant to efficient land use when and where producers are promised good prices and have guaranteed overseas markets, an observation even critics of family land accept. Since land tenure is irrelevant to “agricultural innovation and development” in either instance, the data from Tete Chemin cannot be used to disprove the alleged Caribbean “condemnation” of family land. Conversely, land tenure may indeed be problematic when markets are poor or unpredictable and prices low or erratic. Under such conditions there is often a “surplus” of land and choices are made about which properties to work and how hard to work them. The literature holds that tenure type is impor-

tant in such situations and that when other factors are roughly the same (ecology, holding size, market conditions, etc.), peasants choose to work freehold property rather than family land. But even in these cases the absence of "agricultural innovation and development" may have less to do with tenure than with soil fertility, the size and location of holdings, and, above all, the marketplace. In sum, what Barrow's study actually shows is that there is little relation between the system of peasant land tenure and the intensity of cultivation.

Methodological problems also weaken the study. After a palatable conceptual appetizer to communal land, the main course is as skimpy as it is underdone. Tete Chemin is a newly settled community (p. 60) with very little family property. How little is unclear. A broad range of between 8 and 17 percent of cultivated holdings (pp. 41-42) is given, symptomatic of an overall paucity of concrete information on the relation between people and land. There is almost no discussion of the origin and history of family land and sketchy statistics on the extant pattern of land tenure. Readers are not told how much total acreage there is, how much land and how many plots are held by how many farmers under what tenure types, how many resident and absent people share family land, or how many local family owners are actually working their family plots. This makes it impossible to prioritize the use of land by those who occupy different holding types (family, individually owned, rented, etc.), a critical consideration since nearly all community land is being worked. In particular, I suggest that where farmers have an option of working personal or family land, other things being equal, they will choose the latter.

Barrow does a good job describing and integrating the many features of Caribbean family land and pointing out how they operate in the single case of Tete Chemin, but she promises more than she delivers: though she may be right about much of what she says, a more penetrating study in a well established mixed-farming community would be necessary to confirm that her community has nomothetic relevance and that all of her family land "stereotypes" are groundless.

Social and Occupational Stratification in Contemporary Trinidad and Tobago. SELWYN RYAN (ed.). St. Augustine, Trinidad: ISER, 1991. xiv + 474 pp. (Paper TT\$ 110.00, US\$ 45.00)

BONHAM C. RICHARDSON
Department of Geography
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Blacksburg VA 24061, U.S.A.

In this volume's best essay, choreographer-ethnologist Molly Ahye describes the energy and excitement of Trinidad's Carnival as mirror and mold of social change and continuity on the island. Women participants in Carnival, she explains, now come from "all levels of the society" and enjoy foods "such as roti, pelau, callaloo, chow mein and mayonnaise salad. We have come a long way from mas in the lorries which drove around the Queen's Park Savannah" (p. 410). Ahye goes on to suggest, however, that the growing preponderance of females in Carnival's floats and dance troupes masks the continuing control of the event by men (the real "movers and shakers") who provide organization and security and who benefit from their ultimate financial control of the annual celebration.

Social and Occupational Stratification... is a volume of twenty-seven articles from a symposium held in Trinidad late in 1990. The meeting was divided into two "modules," the first concerning the stratification model of West Indian society and dedicated, appropriately, to Lloyd Braithwaite, and the second dedicated to M.G. Smith and his concept of pluralism. Most of the contributors are academics residing in Trinidad. Their articles vary widely in style and substance. There are brief statements or essays without citations as well as lengthy, footnoted studies supported by tables of survey data. The articles are arranged into seven sections in the book that deal with pluralism and stratification as theoretical stances, politics, ethnicity, gender, religion, calypso and carnival, and demographics. An index, however brief, would have been useful for interested readers. The typographical errors, moreover, occasionally transcend the nuisance level: Selwyn Tarradath in the Table of Contents is Selwyn Tarrandath in the list of contributors; and on pp. 350-51 readers unacquainted with some of Christianity's fine points learn of Jesus's 120 (!) disciples.

The book nevertheless has many strong points because it represents articulate self-reflections by Trinidadians themselves. (Tobago is mentioned only in passing in the book.) Selwyn Ryan contributes three solid articles using census and survey data; he also provides several provocative asides, e.g., "One of the curious things about contemporary Trinidad society is that all

groups ... believe that they are economically dispossessed" (p. 78). David Trotman's excellent essay tracks the changing image of Trinidad's East Indian community as portrayed in calypso lyrics from 1946 to 1986; his conclusion is that, although Trinidad's Indians have progressed "from laughable and despised race to envied group," they are still the islands ultimate outsiders (p. 398). In their article about "Religion and Culture," Ralph Premdas and Harold Sitahal tell us, among other things, that race matters. They trace the earlier socio-economic success among Indo-Trinidadians who have embraced Presbyterianism but assert that in light of "racial partisan politics since self-government was granted to Trinidad, all Indians seem to have been driven into a single solidarity camp" (p. 347). Indeed, all of the section dealing with religion and ethnicity is particularly worthwhile. Surendranath Capildeo, for example, provides a hilarious caricature of Trinidadian Hindus cowering under the onslaught of relentless religious missionaries: "Mercilessly hunted and hounded by screaming, barely literate, born-again Americans" (p. 334). Capildeo presents Hinduism in Trinidad as a quiet, formless, contemplative existence; his brief essay would have been stronger – and more balanced – had he considered the effects on Indo-Trinidadians of televised coverage of the militant Hinduism that has so animated recent political events on the Indian subcontinent.

Some of the survey data in the articles do little more than present commonplaces as revelations. And in some cases the tabular data have little to do with the reality of contemporary Trinidad. To whom is Marcus Balintulo referring in his "stratified random sample of ... 400 sugar workers" (p. 291)? He goes on to tell about their attitudes toward power and politics, but we never know if they are factory workers, truck drivers, cane farmers, or a combination of these and others. The book's first article, by M.G. Smith, is similarly disappointing. He proposes to "clarify and resolve" issues relating pluralism and stratification "in the light of recent developments in the theory of pluralism" (p. 3). Yet he produces an opaque, thirty-page article with 170 footnotes, the most recent citing his own 1984 monograph, and the vast majority referring to work in the 1950s and 1960s. Smith bemoans a shortage of space to answer critics of his work on pluralism and suggests that interested readers should "therefore work it out for themselves" (p. 16)!

Stratification inevitably will be compared to a more recent book edited by Kevin Yelvington (1993). The latter is somewhat more historically oriented and features articles by several non-Trinidadians who have long-term research interests in the island. Yet there is overlap (Ralph Henry, Ralph Premdas) in the contributors to the Ryan and Yelvington readers. And it is notable that both books underline race and ethnicity, the inter-group rivalries that overshadow all else in understanding contemporary Trinidad.

REFERENCE

YELVINGTON, KEVIN A. (ed.), 1993. *Trinidad Ethnicity*. London: Macmillan Caribbean.

Pathology and Identity: The Work of Mother Earth in Trinidad. ROLAND LITTLEWOOD. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. xxii + 322 pp. (Cloth £ 40.00, US\$ 69.95)

BILL MAURER
Department of Anthropology
Stanford University
Stanford CA 94305-2145, U.S.A.

In 1975, Jeanette Baptist burned all of her belongings in front of her family, had a prophetic vision that the End was near, and went naked into what she called Hell Valley, on Trinidad's remote northeast coast. Throughout 1981, anthropologist and psychiatrist Roland Littlewood paid her visits. This sensitive and unusual ethnography is the product of Littlewood's dialogues with Baptist, who re-named herself Mother Earth. It is, first, a powerful statement of Mother Earth's cosmology, and that of the young, underclass, urban men who came to join her in the bush intermittently from the founding of her settlement until her death in 1983. Second, it is a richly textured story about the dynamic interweaving of diverse cultural practices in the contemporary Caribbean. Third, it is an exercise in reconciling bio-psychological explanation with ethnography. Here is where it founders, as Littlewood freely admits, but not without posing unsettling questions.

The book has ten chapters. The first introduces the Earth People, Mother Earth's followers, chronicling their communal way of life and relationships with nearby villagers. The second chapter takes on psychological and medical models of religiosity, creativity, and madness, since Baptist had been institutionalized in a psychiatric hospital. Littlewood persuasively argues that bio-psychological explanations of cultural innovation imply that change is aberrant, and therefore "more psychological" or "more emotional" than stasis. He illustrates the complicity of this thinking with normalizing discourses of modernity, which created "irrational others" contrasted to "rational" Western selves, and he argues that instead we should ask whether events deemed pathological "provide new variants of everyday values ... which ... 'gel' with a given – or potential – set of social concerns" (p. xiii).

Littlewood contrasts psychiatric wisdom with local theories of illness and mental disease. He uses Wilson's "reputation/respectability" dichotomy to argue that *tabanka*, depression affecting cuckolded men and a complaint of some of the Earth People, provides an "ironic commentar[y] on selfish and pretentious attempts to imitate White and middle-class life," since it over-values "respectability." The various *vices* "warn of the opposite danger," beyond a concern for "reputation" towards utterly "worthless behavior" (p. 58). Local theories, Littlewood shows, are linked to overarching race and class inequalities.

Appropriately at the center of the book are an account of Mother Earth's encounter with the medical establishment and a statement of her cosmology in her own words. We also learn something of Littlewood's own character, his desire to understand the "beginnings" of politico-religious movements, "where the banal becomes the significant" (p. 64), and his thoughts on his book's relationship to Mother Earth's project. "'My' book ... is less 'about' Mother Earth than it is somehow a part of Mother Earth, not in some modish deconstruction but as an explicit element in her cosmogony, predicted, demanded by her: an intersubjectivity. As is your reading of it" (pp. 64-65). Indeed, Mother Earth did predict the arrival of an emissary of Science to study her. Her beliefs comment on scientific knowledge production and encompass Littlewood's writings.

It is impossible to do justice here to Mother Earth's cosmology. Inverting Christian metaphysics, and aligning God-the-Father with Science, she calls for a return to Nature and the Mother-Earth, to that which is currently denied or devalued. Science and God teach that nakedness is evil, that Nature is something to be feared, controlled, cleaned up, washed off. Mother Earth, of whom the universe was really born, represents Nature's return. Her (pro)creative powers were usurped at the Beginning in an incestuous act by the Son, whom she banished to the Sun and encircled with fire. Their union spawned a race of cold, calculating whites, Scientists who oppress Earth People of "Africa and India," themselves now seduced by White ways and "material" (Mother Earth's pun on clothing and capitalism). As Science comes ever closer to dominating women's reproductive capabilities, the Son will re-enter the Mother and she will reassert the order of Nature and bring about the End.

Littlewood takes us on a fascinating tour through the various traditions Mother Earth draws on and resonates with, from derivative and invented African ones (especially Shouter Baptist and Rastafarian), through European Radical Puritan and millennial movements, and finally to a synthesis in which Littlewood draws on *shango* and something close to Lévi-Straussian structuralism. He then provides a moving account of his time in Hell Valley.

There were virtually no women there, a fact Mother Earth explained by the closeness of Black women to White "respectability." Littlewood guesses (p. 199) that excluding women from the group was a handy way to ensure solidarity: with no sexual unions, no allegiances would form which might fragment community. But compulsory heterosexuality is more basic here, and seems to be at the unspoken center of Mother Earth's Nature and Littlewood's analysis. The ascription of status based on race and sex is not, as Littlewood maintains, "pre-modern" (p. 233), but follows from modern constructions of sexuality as "natural" difference.

The book opens with Yeats: "How can we know the dancer from the dance?" The dialectic runs throughout. Littlewood questions the relevance of "natural" brain states – and explanatory systems like psychiatry which construct them – for the generation of new socio-cultural orders. He oscillates, however, between a "bio-social" dialectic, and a more subtle one, which brings into play the Nature people construct to determine their own natures. Mother Earth's project begs the questions: *which* Nature? *why* Nature?. For Littlewood, in his ambivalence towards bio-psychological explanation, and Mother Earth, in her call for Nature's return, illustrate a peculiarly Western curiosity: why, when we look for our origins, do we so persistently search them out in Nature?

Haiti: The Failure of Politics. BRIAN WEINSTEIN & AARON SEGAL. New York: Praeger, 1992. ix + 203 pp. (Cloth US\$ 45.00)

ROBERT FATTON, JR.
Woodrow Wilson Department of Government & Foreign Affairs
University of Virginia
Charlottesville VA 22901, U.S.A.

Weinstein and Segal's well-written book provides a concise and intelligent introduction to Haiti's political history from the revolutionary period through independence in 1804 to the contemporary post-Duvalier era. The authors contend that this history is marked by the "failure of politics" which reflects the predatory nature of successive elites that have refused to ground their rule in a meaningful system of accountability. These elites have controlled the state for their exclusive benefit, using it as a means of extracting resources from the poor majority.

Weinstein and Segal do not, however, provide a cogent theoretical framework explaining what causes the elites to behave as they do. While the au-

thors describe the Haitian predicament well, they fail to uncover its social origins. They offer no alternative to the main Marxist, dependency, and culturalist paradigms that they reject. This leads them to treat Haiti as a singularly unique political case, when in fact many Central American and African nations exhibit similar patterns of predatory rule. The authors' lack of a theoretical framework also leads them to underestimate the power of external actors on domestic Haitian politics. Finally it inclines them to conclude that Haitian elites have "failed," when in fact their predatory nature is a reflection of their own class interests and rationality. Despite these weaknesses, this book is a welcome descriptive analysis of Haitian politics.

Weinstein and Segal show how the huge divide separating the elite from the masses has transformed Haiti into "two worlds." The "first world," comprising the wealthy, French-speaking, cosmopolitan minority, displays an utter disdain for the masses and sees politics as a zero-sum game. It is anti-democratic, "exploitative and paranoiac," and it completely excludes the "second world" from its privileges. The "second world" comprises *le peuple* and represents the vast majority of the population. It is overwhelmingly illiterate, poor, and black. It is a world consisting of those who "have no name."

The dichotomic structure of Haitian society is further exacerbated by the conflict of color, or the rift between "brown" and "black." According to Weinstein and Segal, the brown minority of mulatto elites had to gradually relinquish its political hegemony over the black majority with the coming to power of the *noiriste* regimes of Dumarsais Estimé in 1946 and François Duvalier in 1957. While its political power waned, the mulatto minority kept a firm hold on the economy in spite of the ascendancy of a black bourgeoisie. In fact, as Weinstein and Segal point out, an uneasy compromise materialized whereby the brown minority continued to dominate the private sector while the black bourgeoisie took control of the state as a means to enrich itself. That compromise found its ultimate representation when Jean-Claude Duvalier abandoned his father's *noiriste* policies and married Michèle Bennett, a mulatto woman. This union between mulatto and black elites was resented by the Duvalierist old guard and contributed to the erosion of Jean Claude Duvalier's political base.

The growing economic crisis of the early 1980s eroded Jean-Claude Duvalier's popularity further. Weinstein and Segal argue that the relatively "open," technocratic project of "jean-claudisme" exhausted itself as liberalization terminated in repression and as economic growth came to a halt due to massive corruption and state predation. The liberalization of the late 1970s had contributed, nevertheless, to the emergence of an increasingly assertive civil society. Many non-governmental organizations challenged

the abuses of Duvalierisme and began calling for social justice and human rights. Prominent among these organizations was the Catholic Church and, in particular, its radical wing, *Ti Legliz*, which articulated within a theology of liberation a devastating public critique of *macoutisme*. *Macoutisme* came to symbolize everything that was wrong with Haiti: class exploitation, arbitrary political rule, corruption, and state violence. For *Ti Legliz* and the vast majority of Haitians, real change demanded a massive social, political, and economic transformation, a revolution that would overturn almost three decades of Duvalierist domination.

It was amid growing popular contestation and protest, and increasing international isolation, that Jean-Claude Duvalier fled the country on February 7, 1986. His departure should not, however, be confused with the advent of a revolution. It is true, as Weinstein and Segal argue, that some *macoutes* were *dechoukes* (uprooted), and that a new and democratic constitution was established. Indeed, an increasingly vibrant civil society emerged, as *lavalas* (flood of popular support) carried Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide – a radical advocate of *Ti Legliz* – to the presidency in free elections in 1990. However, the old structures of power have remained resilient. The overthrow of President Aristide in September 1991 clearly demonstrated that the army could still resist civilian control, that old *macoutes* and Duvalierists were still influential, and that the elites maintained their utter contempt for *le peuple*. What is striking about the post-Duvalier era is not the *dechoukage* of the old regime, but rather its persistence under new forms.

Even if Father Aristide had successfully returned to the presidency in October 1993, his return could have emasculated his populist and radical power. The potential for a revolution has, so far, been contained. For as Weinstein and Segal emphasize: “What happened on 7 February 1986 was the first in a series of desperate coups d’état staged by Duvalierists who realized the present Duvalier was undermining their system. If the demonstrations had continued much longer, a true revolution or a protracted civil war might have occurred” (p. 50).

The existing balance of class power, the ongoing political manipulation of *la question de couleur*, and the current constellation of external forces bode poorly for a radical transformation of Haitian society. Presently, the dramatic personae are locked in a dangerous equilibrium. Neither the democratizing and populist bloc, nor the authoritarian and neo-Duvalierist coalition is capable of imposing its respective agenda on the other. In the interregnum, Haiti hovers on the verge of utter catastrophe facing ecological destruction and economic ruin. Paradoxically, it is the fear of imminent catastrophe that may finally compel *Lavalas* and the elites into accepting a historic compromise, and thus overturning the “failure of politics” in a new

era of reconciliation. But will the specter of a hellish war of all-against-all prove capable of permanently assuaging the obdurate antagonisms of class, or will it merely cause a temporary, deceptive calm before the flood? Only time will tell.

The Military and Society in Haiti. MICHEL S. LAGUERRE. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1993. x + 223 pp. (Cloth US\$ 29.95)

ULI LOCHER
Department of Sociology
McGill University
Montreal QC, Canada H3A 2T7

Michel Laguerre's background and experience in Haitian studies are enormous. His six previous books (by my count) cover voodoo, urbanization and the New York immigrant community, and his massive "The Complete Haitiana" is the bibliography of (almost) everything. He is productive and ambitious. We approach his latest book with high expectations.

Many of these expectations are fulfilled. This is an informative, well organized study of a topic of great interest of those baffled by the byzantine structure, the unpredictable behavior and the crass egotism of the Haitian military – a "military" which is not synonymous with, but frequently includes, police forces and/or their functions. The emphasis on links between civil society, military, and government is well chosen: each of the three poles affects the internal structure and behavior of the others. Laguerre explains the rare periods of Haitian stability as the equilibrium of the powers emanating from the three poles, and the various coups d'état, provisional governments, dominating leaders, and periods of plain chaos as results of a disequilibrium. His approach is a significant counterweight to the many analyses blaming any internal disturbance on outside factors such as an imperialist neighbor to the North or on some nebulous "dependency."

Chapters 1 and 9 talk about the "equilibrium theory" both as an analytical tool and as a means to predict future coups d'état. They are perhaps the least successful parts of the book. The theory is not stated completely, nor are its plausibility and analytical power confronted with those of competing theories. Most surprisingly, the major theoretical positions concerning the Haitian state published in recent decades are almost completely ignored. This is a pity because Robert Rotberg and Christopher Clague (1971 on the predatory state), Mats Lundahl (1979 on parasitic government as part of the

"cumulative causation" resulting in today's disaster), both David Nicholls (1979) and Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1990 on historical continuities leading to the Duvaliers and beyond), and several others could have contributed more depth and sophistication to Laguerre's theoretical argument.

Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, and 8 deal sequentially with periods covering all of Haitian history since 1804. The militarization of the country (Chapter 2), the emergence of an autonomous civil society during the U.S. occupation (Chapter 3) and its subsequent erosion (Chapter 4), and the Duvaliers with their civilian militia, the Tonton Macoutes, (Chapter 5) all receive competent if not exhaustive treatment. The best of these chapters deals with the coup against President Manigat (Chapter 8); it is so well furnished with insider information that one gets the feeling that Laguerre the anthropologist must have learned a trick or two from his subjects of Chapter 6 – the intelligence officers. The triangle formed by civil society, military, and government remains the analytical principle throughout these chapters.

Privileged access to military informants and documents, especially to (then) Colonel H  rald Abraham, partly explains the existence of this book. It explains in particular Chapter 6, on military intelligence. I know of no social scientist who has provided us as much detail on this part of military operations, and of only two who, despite similarly privileged access, did not do it (Hubert DeRonceray and Leslie Manigat). In this chapter Laguerre has rendered a service to all Haitianists excluded from the greedy, murky, and occasionally bloody settings where "military" intelligence is gathered and used for profit. It may not be accidental that those two other social scientists have accepted political appointments while Laguerre has declined them.

The book abounds in historical detail but this is not its most important contribution. Many authors writing about Haiti's past and present have provided stories about the conduct of soldiers, armed gangs, and militias, and their relations to government and civilians (e.g., Abbott, Castor, D'Ans, Diederich and Burt, Gaillard, Heintz and Heintz, Lundahl, Trouillot, and Voltaire whose writings are familiar to most academics working on Haiti). Laguerre has some more of those stories, sometimes culled from nineteenth-century sources inaccessible to most of us. But he is at his best when he contributes what others cannot do, based on a combination of anthropological training and privileged access. Chapter 7, on soldiers as parasitic entrepreneurs, is his most original contribution. Here we learn about concrete instances of profitable linkages between military status and the non-military economy, about the "business" consisting of contraband, theft, extortion, misuse of funds, trust, and position, and much more. In short, we learn about the logic and inner workings of a system where corruption

equals being *intélijan* (smart) and where predators don't seem to have natural enemies other than predators of higher rank. Laguerre shows how the entrepreneurial activities of military personnel profit more than just the individuals themselves. They are part of the functioning of their "families as firms," diversifying risk and maximizing income for the benefit of many family members both at home and abroad.

Finally, a critical comment concerning more than just this book. This (non-Anglophone) author deserves a competent editor and his book needed one. While the general argument is clear, almost every page, and sometimes every paragraph, contains stylistic lapses, Gallicisms, or plain mistakes. There is no space for examples here. Sometimes the text is a bit ambiguous or weird (pp. 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 13 ...) or simply illogical (p. 63). Occasionally the author is to blame but the ultimate responsibility must lie with the publisher. Shame on Macmillan and the University of Tennessee Press for this blemish on an otherwise rewarding and useful book.

REFERENCES

- LUNDAHL, MATS, 1979. *Peasants and Poverty: A Study of Haiti*. London: Croom Helm.
- NICHOLLS, DAVID, 1979. *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour and National Independence in Haiti*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ROTERG, ROBERT I., with CHRISTOPHER CLAGUE, 1971. *Haiti: The Politics of Squalor*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- TROUILLOT, MICHEL-ROLPH, 1990. *Haiti: State Against Nation. The Origins and Legacy of Duvalierism*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

The Faces of the Gods: Vodou and Roman Catholicism in Haiti. LESLIE G. DESMANGLES. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992. xiii + 218 pp. (Cloth US\$ 32.50, Paper US\$ 12.95)

PAUL E. BRODWIN
Department of Anthropology
University of Wisconsin
Milwaukee WI 53201, U.S.A.

In this ambitious book, Leslie Desmangles makes a series of strong claims about religious life in contemporary Haiti: that popular Haitian religion is not syncretic, and that French Catholic and African practices have not

become theologically or ritually fused. Desmangles's argument is provocative because it seems to contradict two well-known features of Haitian religion: people's simultaneous participation in formal Catholicism and services for the spirits ("Vodoun"), and the intermixture of originally African and European elements within Vodoun services themselves. Desmangles consistently denies that such features are evidence of religious syncretism (defined, for the moment, as the reconciliation or coalescence of historically separate or conflicting religions). He systematically analyzes the Catholic images, beliefs, and ritual gestures which appear in services for the spirits and the world-view of the servitors. Desmangles argues that these elements represent only a superficial layer covering the authentic core of Vodoun, asserts that this core is continuous with African religious forms, and attempts to find its cognates in the cosmologies and rituals of current-day Benin and Nigeria.

Desmangles pursues this argument through a wide range of evidence: colonial and twentieth-century historical writings, literature, ethnographies of Haitian and African religious rituals, and religious imagery. His theoretical approach draws primarily on comparative religious philosophy (e.g., Mircea Eliade and Joseph Campbell) and a selective reading of certain classic anthropologists of religion (e.g., Anthony Wallace and Ralph Linton). Despite his eclectic choice of data and theories, the book is well-organized. Desmangles begins with a narrative history of the relations between Catholicism, Vodoun, the state, and global powers (1492 to the present). His discussion of out-of-print and untranslated church histories will prove especially helpful for Caribbeanists. In the next chapter, Desmangles portrays Vodoun conceptions of self and spirit: first as a general psychological and theological discourse, and then as the structuring principle for the major rites of passage in practitioners' lives (death, burial, and baptism/initiation into the service of a particular spirit). The remaining two chapters introduce the major *lwa* (spirits) and review their historical origins, iconography, and theological significance.

Desmangles's argument revives the methods and concerns of earlier students of Afro-Caribbean religions. Roger Bastide's (1978:281) suggestion that "civilizations may meet and live side by side without mutual penetration" could well serve as the book's leitmotif. Desmangles's overall method is clear: to parse popular Haitian religion into its French Catholic and West African components, and then to analyze the metonymic and metaphoric relations between them. He thus explores what Bastide called the "ecological" or "mosaic" relations between traditions: the juxtaposition in time and space of European and African icons and ritual practices. Desmangles calls such metonymic relations "symbiosis by ecology": altars

where sequined jars crowd next to lithographs of saints, holy sites where pilgrims walk from Mass at church to nearby ceremonies for the *lwa*, Latin prayers which open and close such ceremonies, etc. For Desmangles, these cases exemplify contiguity without genuine intermixture.

"Symbiosis by identification" – the metaphoric equivalence of African and European elements – is Desmangles's other major analytic category. The seeming identity between Catholic saints and African gods is a perennial topic for students of popular Haitian religion. Desmangles exhaustively catalogues this equivalence on each of its registers. Prayers and songs mingle the African and Catholic names of the same deity; people identify a *lwa* with a particular saint because of shared visual details, ceremonies for *lwa* occur on the feast day of its affiliated saint. Desmangles largely agrees with Alfred Métraux's interpretation (1972:326ff) of these ambiguous signs and practices, which argues that despite their resemblances, saints and *lwa* belong to two entirely different religious systems, and that for most Haitians, the entire panoply of Catholic deities, moral edicts, and cosmic principles has lost its original content and become assimilated to Vodoun.

However intimate or long-standing, the metonymic and metaphoric relations between Catholicism and Vodoun do not go very deep. This is Desmangles's main argument, and he draws two major implications from it. Although the vast majority of Haitians are Catholics, he insists that their professed faith is theologically thin and holds little personal significance. People embrace Catholicism either as a strategy to enter the "respectable" neocolonial national culture, and/or to disguise their continued participation with Vodoun, an historically discredited and oppressed religion. Although Vodoun practices themselves are shot through with Catholic images and symbols, Desmangles analyzes these as a superficial "veil under which African ... religious practices can be carried out" (p. 77).

Desmangles demonstrates these points through historical evidence and the philosophical analysis of Vodoun cosmologies, rituals, and icons. In the late eighteenth century, French planters and administrators prohibited certain African religious forms (night-time meetings, drumming, etc.), not out of missionary zeal, but rather for fear of their role in slaves' political organization and resistance. Slaves were forced to embrace Christianity nominally, but they actually used it to disguise their continued practice of African-derived religions. At the same time, Maroon communities served as enclaves for the preservation and resynthesis of religious traditions from diverse African ethnic groups. These traditions became consolidated into the precursor of current-day Vodoun after independence in 1804 in the context of international isolation, an emerging rural peasantry, and the virtual absence of Catholic personnel created by the schism with the Vatican.

On these points, Desmangles concurs with the judgments of colonial and twentieth-century historians. But he then argues that the same relationship between the Vodoun core and Catholic surface extends through the following 190 years. He claims that most Haitians still subscribe to Catholicism in name only (p. 52) and as cover for Vodoun practices, because they "still live under the shadow of ... rulings of the colonial period" (p. 77). This is a strikingly ahistorical claim which often runs counter to the evidence he presents. Certainly, the state suppression of Vodoun continued in the early national period, and it has sporadically re-appeared in this century (in Lescot's anti-superstition campaign and the recent *dechoukaj* of Duvalierist *houngans*). However, the scale of Catholic institution-building after the Vatican Concordat (1860) and during the American occupation (1915-34) has brought the majority of Haitians into intimate, daily contact with the Church and its education and welfare services. Surely, 130 years of this contact has affected their religious life; the evidence lies in the successful Haitianization of the clergy, and most dramatically, in the recent forays of clergy and Catholic groups into national politics.

Desmangles briefly mentions how progressive sectors of the church mobilized opposition to Jean-Claude Duvalier and contributed to Jean-Bertrand Aristide's widespread support. But for such efforts to succeed, the metaphors and moral vision drawn from Catholicism must be widely shared throughout society. How did Christian base communities gain their effectiveness, and how has Aristide's deeply Christian discourse (couched in biblical images of a cleansing flood and the holiness of the disinherited) inspired such conviction and acquired such political force? Desmangles's ahistorical narrative makes it difficult even to ask these questions, because it acknowledges no essential change in people's relation to Catholicism since the demise of colonial slave society.

The detailed accounts of life-transition rituals and the theological discussions of *lwa*, their character, and their powers are the most satisfying parts of this book. Desmangles engages these materials on an existential level: he addresses the psychic effectiveness of myths and the reformulation of the self and life-world through contact with the spirits. He thus constructs Vodoun as an autonomous and internally-consistent religious system, and he positions himself as an insider who accepts the significance and power of its major terms. This perspective allows some interesting readings of the semiotic "inner frame" of specific Vodoun rituals: how they synchronize participants' action and mythic discourse to accomplish the necessities of spiritual life (e.g., guiding souls through death and rebirth, negotiating among cosmological principles of good and evil, and serving the *lwa* through possession and sacrifice).

Desmangles's phenomenological interpretation of Vodoun advances his overall argument that Catholicism is marginal to Haitian religious life. He formulates Vodoun as a consistent philosophical system, whose condensed symbols correspond directly to major propositions about the world and human experience. He then presents similarly abstract renderings of the current religions of African ethnic groups (or a generalized "African religion"), drawn from published sources and his own fieldwork in Benin. Finally, he demonstrates the formal similarity between Vodoun and African religions, so conceived, and asserts this similarity as evidence of both historical origin and shared spiritual essence. Although many overtly Catholic elements are embedded in services for the spirits, by this argument Desmangles would demonstrate that their meaning derives exclusively from Vodoun's African core.

Desmangles runs several risks with this brand of comparative religious analysis. First of all, he extracts both religions from their historical trajectories without any justification. Certain methodological dilemmas cast doubt on the validity of the comparisons he draws. Because of the extreme dislocations of plantation slavery, African religious forms in colonial St. Domingue soon diverged from their Old World precursors. Furthermore, Vodoun practitioners have had no significant contact with Africa for nearly two centuries, during which time African religions have themselves changed, often dramatically, under the impact of colonialism, proselytization, nationalism, etc.

Desmangles does not even consider these problems; he chooses instead to discuss the timeless essence of specific religious symbols. However, he casts these essences in exceedingly general phenomenological terms, which could easily apply to Christianity – the very religion which he discounts. For example, he claims that the meanings of the cross in Vodoun are wholly "African" because in both Haiti and Benin, the cross is a "cosmographic image that ... establish[es] contact between the profane and sacred worlds" (p. 102). However, precisely the same could be said about the cross among French Catholics! Desmangles presents numerous comparisons of this type, but because they conflate pseudo-historical origin with ahistorical essence, and are cast in the most general terms, they establish very little about the actual provenience or theological significance of particular icons or rites.

Even apart from his comparative efforts, Desmangles favors the disembodied symbolic analysis of Vodoun ceremonies, which he typically describes in generalized or composite form. We learn much about the significance of ceremonies for generic "Vodouisants" or "Haitians," but far less about the actual performance of rituals, their orchestration of the participants' motives or subjectivity, or the diverse ways that individuals evaluate

the efficacy of rituals. Such decontextualized ethnographic vignettes may suffice for comparative religious philosophy. Nonetheless, they do not (and, for methodological reasons, cannot) support the anthropological claim that for current-day Vodoun practitioners, overtly Catholic elements have been entirely absorbed by African religious concepts.

Perhaps these criticisms are unfair, insofar as they reflect disciplinary concerns which play no part in Desmangles's overall approach. Throughout this book, his preferred perspective resembles that of a theologically sophisticated and spiritually adept *houngan* whose activities as healer and advisor take place entirely within an African-derived idiom. Certainly, many such individuals exist. I, like many anthropologists, have been lucky to know a few, and they have taught me important lessons about Haitian popular religion. But they represent only one position in a much larger field, which also includes devout Catholics who loudly abjure the spirits, and many more people whose Catholic devotion and service for the spirits is irreducible to a model of core and superficial layers. Desmangles declines to explore this larger social and religious field. The overall point about the insignificance of Catholicism follows almost by definition from the author's "hermeneutics of faith"; that is, subject to his position as a believer ensconced in the same religious tradition that he analyzes, for whom symbols are revelations of the sacred.

The disciplines of history and anthropology do not enjoy a joint monopoly over the study of Haitian religion (although they may control much of the academic capital in this industry). Desmangles's exploration of familiar topics through comparative religious philosophy is undeniably an important contribution. Nonetheless, because he freely appropriates ethnographic and historical evidence, it is appropriate to criticize both his methods and his conclusions. Desmangles's decontextualized and ahistorical argument is not sufficient to establish either that Catholicism is superficial in Haitian religious life or that Vodoun can be interpreted entirely in terms of current West African religions. He occasionally acknowledges that Vodoun is also a Creolized religion – a *tertium quid* to its African and Catholic precursors – but his book markedly de-emphasizes this perspective. Desmangles does not engage recent debates about the origin of Caribbean intercultural contact situations (e.g., Mintz & Price 1992; Woodson n.d.) or the religious modes of class or sub-cultural resistance (e.g., Comaroff 1985; Scott 1990). Such sources would allow the reinsertion of Vodoun into the mainstreams of Haitian history, without erasing its spiritual significance.

Of course, this task may not be congenial for someone, like Desmangles, academically trained in comparative religions. It may require a shift away from the believer's perspective, as well as an analysis of rituals based largely

on their actual social locations and performances. But the merit of Desmangles's book is that it simultaneously sparks new debates about the disciplinary production of knowledge and reopens an older still unfinished conversation about symbol and experience in Haitian religion.

REFERENCES

- BASTIDE, ROGER, 1978. *The African Religions of Brazil: Toward a Sociology of the Interpenetration of Civilizations*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- COMAROFF, JEAN, 1985. *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- MÉTRAUX, ALFRED, 1972. *Voodoo in Haiti*. New York: Schocken Books. [Orig. 1958.]
- MINTZ, SIDNEY W. & RICHARD PRICE, 1992. *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- SCOTT, JAMES, 1990. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: The Hidden Transcript of Subordinate Groups*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- WOODSON, DREXEL, n.d. Surrealism in Appropriations of Facts about Haitian 'Contact Culture.' In Brackette F. Williams (ed.), *Contact Culture: In Search of Hemispheric America*.

Bibliographic Guide to Caribbean Mass Communication. JOHN A. LENT (comp.). Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1992. xi + 301 pp. (Cloth US\$ 59.95)

Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles: An Annotated English-Language Bibliography. ENID BROWN. Metuchen NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1992. xi + 276 pp. (Cloth US\$ 32.50)

MARIAN GOSLINGA
Latin American and Caribbean Librarian
Florida International University
Miami FL 3319, U.S.A.

In 1981, Crossroads Press published John A. Lent's *Caribbean Mass Communications: A Comprehensive Bibliography*. Although not expressly stated, the 1992 *Bibliographic Guide to Caribbean Mass Communication* is, for all practical purposes, an updated version of the earlier title. A comparison between the 1981 and 1992 volumes reveals not only how the discipline has grown and gained in respectability but also the extent to which the Caribbean countries have allocated their expanding cultural resources.

The book is organized by regions – British Commonwealth Caribbean, French Caribbean, Netherlands Caribbean, United States Caribbean (Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands), with additional chapters devoted to Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Its scope includes Belize, Guyana, Suriname, and French Guiana. The amount of literature available for Cuba warranted a separate volume of 357 pages, also published in 1992 by Greenwood Press (*Bibliography of Cuban Mass Communications*).

Each chapter is further subdivided by topic (general studies, advertising, broadcasting, freedom of press, history of media, print media) as required by the available literature. The 3,695 items mentioned are listed alphabetically by author (or by title if anonymous) within each category. The numbering is consecutive throughout.

Included are “all genres of publication” (books, periodical articles, newspaper articles, theses, conference papers, dissertations, mimeographed reports, etc.) in all languages and dialects, although English-language citations have been given preference. It would have been useful if more titles had been accompanied by English translation – especially those in Dutch and Papiamentu. As it stands, only a few are.

Citations consist of author, title, place of publication, publisher, date, and pagination (for books) and author, title, name of periodical or newspaper, volume and/or number, date, and pagination (for articles).

There are author and subject indexes but, oddly enough, no title index. Accessibility by title (especially in the case of anonymous works) is one of the criteria for a usable bibliography. The author index is in need of some additional work as no cross references have been provided for Spanish-language surnames. Manuel Ríos Ocaña (#3316, #3561) is listed under Ríos; an additional reference under Ocaña would have benefited the English-speaking audience.

While Lent claims to have compiled as comprehensive a bibliography as possible, he at the same time disdains the use of online sources and has proceeded as if the electronic communication highway does not exist. Not only would it have saved a lot of time, but a random sample survey of INFO-SOUTH (University of Miami) and HAPI (Hispanic American Periodicals Index, University of California at Los Angeles) produced citations not found by Lent manually (e.g., Alegría Ortega 1988; Carty 1989; Hanna 1989; Greenberg & del Toro 1989). Because of its failure to use online sources, the book is not quite as useful as it could have been.

Despite its title, the majority of citations in *Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles: An Annotated English-Language Bibliography*, by Enid Brown, are not annotated. This in no way, however, diminishes the value of this listing which is aimed at an English-speaking audience and covers

1,223 items in the humanities and social sciences held by various Caribbean libraries. Adding a variety of local holdings, this work complements the recent bibliographies on Suriname by Hoeffte (1990) and Derkx and Rolfes (1990) as well as the somewhat older works by Nagelkerke (1973, 1982) and STICUSA (1975) on the Netherlands Antilles. It is also reminiscent of the much earlier work by Hiss (1943) which uses the same approach.

Listed are books, periodical articles, conference papers, travel guides, mimeographed reports and other ephemeral materials. Entries are by author and are numbered consecutively, listing author, title, place of publication, date (for books) and author, title, title of periodical, volume, date, and pagination (for articles). All entries provide one or more subject headings as well as a location symbol. There is an author index and a topical index; however, in this case also, a title index is sadly lacking. Appendixes list the addresses of the libraries cited as well as the periodicals covered. Curiously, Brown does not interfile her joint authors in the author index but lists them separately in an appendix.

Although it is difficult to find fault with a listing such as Brown's, it does seem surprising that none of the twelve libraries covered hold Cornelis Goslinga's 1990 sequel on the Dutch in the Caribbean and in Suriname. A last point concerns Brown's erratic punctuation and capitalization in the entries which, coming from a librarian, seems all the more out of place. In conclusion, each of these two books has its limitations. They can be recommended only for specific purposes.

REFERENCES

- ALEGRÍA ORTEGA, IDSA E., 1988. En tiempo de bolero: colonialismo y patriarcado en los melodramas y anuncios televisados. *Revista de Ciencias Sociales (Puerto Rico)* 27(1/2):89-99.
- CARTY, JAMES W., JR., 1989. Media in the Caribbean. *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 8:287-92.
- DERKX, JO & IRENE ROLFES, 1990. *Suriname: A Bibliography, 1980-1989*. Leiden: KITLV/Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology.
- GOSLINGA, CORNELIS CH., 1990. *The Dutch in the Caribbean and in Surinam, 1791/5-1942*. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- GREENBERG, BRADLEY S. & WANDA DEL TORO, 1989. Television Commercials and Food Orientations among Teenagers in Puerto Rico. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 11(2):168-77.
- HANNA, WILLIAM JOHN, 1989. Newspapers and Medicine in Jamaica a Century Ago. *Jamaica Journal* 21(4):33-36.
- HISS, PHILIP HANSON, 1943. *A Selective Guide to the English Literature on the Netherlands*

West Indies: With a Supplement on British Guiana. New York: Netherlands Information Bureau.

HOEFTE, ROSEMARIJN, 1990. *Suriname*. Oxford: Clio Press.

NAGELKERKE, GERALD A., 1973. *Nederlandse Antillen: Literatuur-overzicht vanaf de 17e eeuw tot 1970*. Leiden: KITLV/Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology.

——, 1982. *Netherlands Antilles: A Bibliography, 17th Century-1980*. Leiden: KITLV/Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology.

STICUSA, 1975. *Bibliografie van de Nederlandse Antillen*. Amsterdam: Nederlandse Stichting voor Culturele Samenwerking met Suriname en de Nederlandse Antillen.

J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong, Curator and Archaeologist: A Study of his Early Career (1910-1935). F.R. EFFERT. Leiden: Centre of Non-Western Studies, University of Leiden, 1992. v + 119 pp. (Paper NLG n.p.)

JAY B. HAVISER
Archaeological-Anthropological Institute
of the Netherlands Antilles
6-b Johan van Walbeeckplein
Willemstad, Curaçao, Netherlands Antilles

All too often in this world, remarkable authors in the social sciences are remembered for some particular professional contribution, with simply their name attached to it. However, it is rare that readers are given an insight into details of the personal and social contexts of the author's life that stimulated the development of their specific contributions. F.R. Effert has thoughtfully given us such a rare perspective on the Dutch ethnologist, J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong (hereafter JPB). By merging aspects of this unique man's personal life into the context of his professional research, Effert has succeeded in creating a truly holistic view of JPB's contributions to ethnology and archaeology in the early twentieth century. Indeed, he has shown us through one man's work how the very discipline of ethnology was practiced and changing in the first quarter of this century.

With only about eighty pages of text, this is a short book easily read in one sitting, and because it contains numerous repetitions the reading goes faster; some of the most interesting comments are found in the extensive footnotes. The book opens with three photographs, one on the cover of JPB among Native Americans in 1910-11, and two of Gudmund Hatt's archaeological excavations in the Virgin Islands in 1922-23. Since JPB's work was focused more on the Dutch islands, one is left wondering why Effert did not

choose photos of JPB's excavations instead of Hatt's. The bibliography of JPB's publications, compiled by F.R. Effert and H.F. Vermeulen, is thorough and superbly compiled, and introduces many of his little-known writings. In contrast, the Appendix outlining archaeology of the Caribbean is not only obsolete, but irrelevant to the book's theme. The book closes with four maps of the Caribbean, the Virgin Islands, and the Netherlands Antilles, each indicating a few archaeological sites.

Effert has separated the review of JPB's early professional years, from 1910-35, into nine chapters, four of which deal with JPB's relations with contemporaries and authorities – first as a student, and later in his capacity as a museum curator and university professor. Four more of the chapters deal specifically with the professional and personal relations between JPB and the Danish ethnologist/archaeologist Gudmund Hatt, both in Europe as part of the professional ethnologists' sphere, and in the context of their joint fieldwork in the Caribbean in 1922-23. The final chapter describes how JPB, who was eventually to be the co-founder of structural anthropology in the Netherlands, was also one of the forerunners of the discipline of ethno-archaeology.

In the chapters about JPB's relations with contemporaries and authorities, we are first given a perspective of his student years at the University of Leiden, where the renowned linguist C.C. Uhlenbeck was clearly the primary influence on his career and philosophy. It was Uhlenbeck who first gave him the opportunity for linguistic fieldwork in North America among the Blackfoot, Peigans, and Chippewa in 1910-11. It is from these first experiences with Native Americans that we begin to see JPB's true personal character, sympathetic to the plight of these peoples being threatened by white cultural influences. Following Uhlenbeck's lead, JPB focused on ethnology, linguistics, and ethno-psychology, and eventually turned to archaeology for a broader perspective on linguistics and ethnology. By 1911, he was curator of the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden and by 1922 a professor at the University of Leiden. In these positions he corresponded regularly with other ethnologists, such as Karl Preuss, Erland Nordenskiöld, and Gudmund Hatt. In his correspondence, he referred to professional issues and theoretical matters, with exceptionally sharp criticisms of the "American school" of culture-historians, yet he also wrote of personal problems with museum boards lacking academic members, and government bureaucracy. Through these windows into JPB's view of the world, we continue to see his balancing of scientific goals and sympathy for the personal trauma of the peoples he studied, under siege by the modern world and never to be the same again. By 1913, JPB's interest in the Western Hemisphere was growing, as he began to write reports on archaeological materials at the museum, collected from Peru and the Dutch Caribbean

islands of Curaçao, Aruba, and Bonaire. Yet it was his emphasis on an "ethno-archaeological" perspective that distinguished his reports, with in-depth literature searches, discussions of burial practices, pictographs, and the question of Arawakan vs. Cariban origins for the Antilles. By utilizing linguistics and ethnology within his archaeological studies, he implicitly introduced the comparison of whole cultures, instead of the diffusion of cultural traits.

In 1921 JPB met the Danish archaeologist Gudmund Hatt, whose publications he was quite familiar with. Together they conducted a Danish-Dutch archaeological expedition to the Caribbean, with Hatt working in the old Danish islands and JPB working mostly on the Dutch islands. The fact that JPB clearly did not consider himself an archaeologist later became evident by his written focus on linguistics among Negro-Dutch creoles, more than on his few archaeological excavations. Indeed, these few excavations in the West Indies were JPB's first and last endeavors into the field of archaeology for his career. Effert's chapters about the Danish-Dutch relations are primarily focused on JPB's difficulties financing his part of the expedition; the trip itself, largely as seen through JPB's diary, including local island scandals resulting from his outspoken manner and criticism of the Spanish missions towards the Native Americans; the subsequent problems he had publishing the data collected; and the end of Danish-Dutch cooperation. Just as with his work among the Native Americans of North America, JPB felt a great sympathy for the plight of the African-Americans in the West Indies, as he detested prejudices about Negro inferiority. Although Effert is very subtle about this, it is more than evident that JPB's views, which led to his uncompromising stand against the Nazis in World War II, placed him in direct opposition to Gudmund Hatt who supported the Nazi movement; this difference eventually resulted in their professional and personal falling out.

By 1925, JPB's interests in archaeology and the Caribbean were waning, and partly due to the influence of W.H. Rassers, by 1935 JPB was fully devoted to ethnological research of the Dutch East Indies and Indonesia in particular – a focus which continued until his retirement in 1956. Thus, most modern scholars know of him from his Indonesian studies, which is precisely why Effert's book is of such interest and value. He has taken us back to a time of changing views in ethnology and archaeology, to see the world through the eyes of a remarkable man who helped mold those fields in the Netherlands and in the world. He has given general readers a concept of the people behind the scientific research, and professionals a chance to reflect on how our individual struggles are often timelessly the same.

De papegaai, de stier en de klimmende bougainvillea. Essays. ANIL RAMDAS. Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 1992. (Paper NLG 32.50)

HANS VAN AMERSFOORT
Institute for Social Geography
University of Amsterdam
1018 VZ Amsterdam, the Netherlands

The art of essay writing is the art of elegantly presenting half truths. It is the prerogative of the essay writer to dazzle us with unexpected thoughts, a well-found phrase, and broad vistas on the nature of men and society. After deep reflection or extensive reading the points brought forward in essays can often be questioned; the truth is usually more complicated and conditional than essayists make us believe. But that does not bother them. It is not their responsibility to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Their task is to tell us "some truth." Essayists are sprinters, not long distance runners; their chosen medium is the newspaper or magazine rather than the academic journal.

Essayists who collect their essays in a book therefore run the risk of being read too critically. Anil Ramdas has taken this risk by bringing together seventeen essays written for Dutch newspapers and weeklies. Ramdas is one of the most prolific essayists in the Netherlands and one of the most interesting Surinamese writers to date. His great achievement lies in being unmistakably Surinamese, or to be more exact Hindustani Surinamese, and at the same time being committed to intellectual universalism. He often starts from personal experiences, but never uses them to avoid intellectual scrutiny.

His personal background and characteristics make comparison with V.S. Naipaul almost unavoidable. Ramdas is too sensible to compare himself to the great author of post-colonial disenchantment, but he has not shrunk back from a confrontation. In "Een huis voor meneer Naipaul" (A house for Mr. Naipaul) he analyzes the relationship of Naipaul to his native island and to India. It is remarkable that he seems to be more interested in the latter of these two. Perhaps this is because his own relationship to "Mother India" is more complex and ambivalent. He does not hide his admiration for Naipaul's literary genius, but is equally outspoken about the inconsequential and needlessly rude behavior of the master in interviews and public readings.

In some way Naipaul seems to have lost the mildness that tempered his eye for the ridiculous and banal in his early novels and stories. In *Mr. Stone and the Knights Companion* (1963), the great satire on English middle-class

life, it is still there, even abundantly. (Strangely enough this book seems to be completely forgotten; even Ramdas does not mention it.) But in an *Area of Darkness* (1964), it is gone, never to return. In 1967, *The Mimic Men* appeared, a portrait of Caribbean political life so painfully true that it could not be read without resentment by anybody engaged in any way in the politics of decolonization in the Caribbean.

Naipaul has no regard for this resentment and Ramdas respects this disregard. It is not the task of writers to flatter their readers. But Ramdas points out that where Naipaul steps out of the world of fiction into books that aim to present at least "some truth," for instance about India, he must comply with the questioning of his omniscience. To me this is the best essay in the book and the one that most deserves an English translation.

Reading the essays together in a book makes it possible to reread and rethink particular essays such as the one on V.S. Naipaul. It also makes the flaws of the essays more visible. Ramdas is given to dropping names of authors he has read, films he has seen, and records he has played. However, what is a forgivable vanity in a newspaper column becomes irritating in a book. It makes readers suspicious, especially when they have read a particular author or book themselves. Sometimes Ramdas seems to be in too much of a hurry to get essential details right. For instance, his summary of Hans Ramsoedh's study (1990) of governor Kielstra (pp. 38-39) fails to render the complexity of Kielstra's political aims, so clearly spelled out by Ramsoedh. Yet, generally, these essays stand out well. Ramdas has the literary gift, the intellectual talent, and the moral integrity of a true essayist. Anyone who has missed his work so far, and reads Dutch, now has the chance to enjoy it.

REFERENCE

- RAMSOEDH, HANS. 1990. *Suriname 1933-1944: Koloniale politiek en beleid onder Gouverneur Kielstra*. Delft: Eburon.

Curse of the Devtas. DEONARAYAN. Paramaribo: J.J. Buitenweg, 1992. v + 103 pp. (Paper n.p.)

Hindoestaanse gezinnen in Nederland. G. MUNGRA. Leiden: Centrum voor Onderzoek Maatschappelijke Tegenstellingen, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1990. 313 pp. (Paper NLG 26.50)

INEKE VAN WETERING
Faculty of Social Sciences
Vrije Universiteit
De Boelelaan 1105
1081 HV Amsterdam, the Netherlands

Deonarayan's text offers a rare glimpse into a world hardly known to outsiders: folk Hinduism in Suriname. It is an autobiographical account written by a young Hindustani who was born in 1956 in Berbice, the grandson of immigrants from India recruited for indentured labor. The account bears witness to an inner struggle experienced by a young man who was familiar with popular Hinduism from early childhood and became a Christian convert upon reaching adolescence. His view of ancestral, "traditional" or popular religion is gloomy in the extreme, as is common in conversion stories. This is succinctly expressed in the book's title: religion is a curse, a yoke to be shaken off, and the new religion is embraced as a redemption from the powers of evil. The author also regards conversion as a triumph of modern civilization over primitive superstition, a view which used to be characteristic of the Western world but nowadays seems shared by many in developing countries, though not necessarily by students of religion. The emotional tone of the account enhances its true-to-life quality.

The text refers to both beliefs and practices current in Guyana which have received scholarly attention and similar phenomena in Suriname which have, so far, gone unrecorded. Equally of interest are pictures of shrines and rituals performed both in Guyana and in Suriname. Inevitably, the perspective presented here is that of someone who is partly an insider, partly an outsider, and he is careful to stress distance.

The author's intention was to point out to a wider public that *Kali Mai* ritual with its bloody offerings and possession trances is tantamount to devil worship. But this strategy has backfired: even in the form of denunciation the book proved to be unacceptable to Hindustani opinion leaders in Paramaribo, who saw to it that all 750 copies printed were confiscated. The chairman of *Sanatan Dharm*, the orthodox wing of Hinduism in Suriname, judged the book offensive and injurious to the reputation of Hinduism. Also, he feared it might cause outbreaks of violence: "No one has the right

to call Hinduism a form of demon worship." The police were called in; the author was interrogated four times, and all available books were confiscated without explanation or compensation. This raised questions; the human rights organization *Moiwana '86* contested the legitimacy of the action, as freedom of expression was at stake. The matter was relegated to the Prosecution Council (*De West*, June 2, 1992).

The title *Curse of the Devtas* refers to an interpretation of misfortune which was, apparently, current among second-generation immigrants. The micro-history of Deonarayan's family offers a perspective on a development process in Hindu religion which might have a wider range of relevance. In his account, the first generation – that is, his grandparents and great grandparents who came from Bengal – tried to maintain the standards of Hinduism as they knew it, as best as they could. The old-time shrine shown in a photograph, in its apparent simplicity almost reminiscent of a Maroon shrine, bears witness to first-generation devotions. Although these shrines have traditionally been in high regard in the community, ambivalent sentiments rapidly gained the upper hand. In the author's family, worship lapsed after the death of his maternal grandfather, whose sons refused to continue the traditions. This task was left to his daughter, who was strongly pressed by a niece to take it over. Public opinion, as voiced by the elders of the first generation, she argued, would attribute all subsequent calamities befalling the family to their neglect of traditional proprieties and worship, in particular the yearly family ritual (*puja*). In the end, there were many calamities: three sons became drunkards who squandered their money in wanton living and a fourth committed suicide. In the eyes of the community, not only was ritual default behind these disasters, but also witchcraft.

The main male figure in the author's life is a maternal and not a paternal grandfather, which seems rather untypical of Hindu life-ways. About Deonarayan's father and his kin we hear very little, apart from the fact that he was a Brahmin. We are not even told whether he was still alive in his early years. The boy was reared by his mother who also took care of her two younger brothers. Only later does a stepfather appear; the boy's relations with him are strained. In the community the author and his mother were rather marginal figures. Despite her zealous performance of various rituals, his mother reaps very little reward from her obeisance to traditional expectations. When her new partner abuses her, she is mocked by the neighbors and told that he, also, is a curse or a demon to punish her. Deonarayan calls these people "Hindu fanatics," but the striking failure to appreciate the mother's religious efforts raises doubts as to the sincerity of their devotion to Hinduism.

Deonarayan's maternal grandfather had begun as a mule-boy and cane-

cutter, but was promoted to the rank of a chief butler in the residence of the manager of Rose Hall Sugar Estate. In a tale bordering on myth, Deonarayan relates how he saved a white Sahib's daughter from being raped and dishonored by the grandson of a negro slave. After his death, the family's hard-won prestige eroded, and Deonarayan's mother had to labor in a creole gang on the same sugar plantation where her father had so distinguished himself. The family's downfall led to allegations of witchcraft and talk of a "curse." For Deonarayan and his mother, conversion probably was a way out of a very unpleasant social situation, but it had a stiff price in terms of their social relations. The case history invites speculation, for instance, on a theme like social control in an allegedly egalitarian community of indentured laborers, and the relation of witchcraft suspicions, social mobility, and marginality.

The ethnographic details recorded are fascinating, though highly unsystematically related. Deonarayan mentions the influence of Tantra, which, contrary to tradition, gained support among the higher castes, particularly among the young. He notes the activities of faith healers, both past and present, in Guyana and Suriname, who manage to attract a following and make a successful career out of their practices, including the treatment of spirit-afflicted clients and exorcism of demons. Not surprisingly, the frequent contacts between Guyana and Suriname have stimulated diverse expressions of popular religion, which, as far as the latter country is concerned, went largely unnoticed in studies of religion. The author refers to a cult center of *Kali Mai puja* at the Mariënburg plantation, not far from Paramaribo, where people come in search of healing. The text and its accompanying photographs suggest that possession trances are common, that cult leaders try to bolster their authority by excelling in "supernatural" feats, that some of the clients require to be whipped, and that blood offerings are part of treatment.

Another striking detail is the fact that boundaries between ethnic groups were frequently crossed in popular religion. Deonarayan notes that Creoles joined the clients of a famous Hindu faith healer. Also, he signals the activities of "a Negro" in Berbice who posed as Rama, an incarnation of Viṣṇu. This religious entrepreneur won great acclaim among Hindus, was revered as a god, and became a wealthy man, only to be unmasked later as a swindler.

One of the values of this book is its development of the theme of contact between the diverse ethnic communities. For too long, the "plural society" view has discouraged careful examination of cultural encounters between ethnic groups. The term "syncretism," applied routinely to exchanges between a world religion and forms of "traditional," popular, or folk belief, is

rarely used for "lateral" or "horizontal" contacts between folk traditions or the hybrid or creolized forms this process produces. In reminiscences of youthful visits to a *Kali Mai* center in Albion, Guyana, Deonarayan quotes bystanders' exclamations upon seeing a woman going into a trance: "She got devta, she got devta." It is hard not to be reminded of similar expressions used in Creole *winti* beliefs, where people "get winti."

G. Mungra's recent publication on Hindustani migrant families in the Netherlands belongs to a genre of ethnic studies designed to make a wider public familiar with the general cultural and historical features of a specific migrant group. In the chapter on cultural orientations which contains some passages on popular forms of religion, Mungra discusses *ojhá* (magicians or faith healers) and *graha shánti* (the undoing of evil influences), but he makes no mention of *Kali Mai puja*. Whether the latter is unknown among migrants, censured, or simply subsumed under the other categories is not made clear. Mungra refers to the practices of the *ojhá* as systems of traditional welfare work, effectively erasing any stigma that might cling to this popular religion.

Most of the fifty families selected for study belonged to the lower class, to the unskilled or semiskilled segment of the migrant population, among whom allegiance to folk beliefs and practices is common. Strikingly, it is the orthodox religious specialist to whom people turn when the need arises. Nevertheless, Mungra reports that three out of the ten respondents, who acknowledged that they had consulted faith healers, belonged to a modernist branch of Hinduism, *Arya Samaj*; folk belief apparently crosses the boundary between denominations. The fact that ritual practice is concentrated in the home rather than in temples, as Mungra observes, grants some freedom of action to the believers. Chances for active participation and influencing ritual practice are greater in domestic privacy than in formal surroundings. The *ojhá*, who are consulted in private, may or may not be priests; their task is the interpretation of dreams, the procuring of amulets, and the appeasement or exorcism of evil spirits. These practitioners enjoy high prestige, although there is often suspicion that they use their powers to send evil spirits into victims. The costs of such services, Mungra found, tend to be high.

Apart from some interesting particulars, Mungra provides no case material. From his data it would be hard to assess what continuities or changes manifest themselves in present day patterns of Hindu worship. For details, Mungra refers to De Klerk's work (1951), contributing in this way to a static conception of religion and continuation of a stress on orthodoxy. Like Deonarayan, Mungra is ambivalent about popular religion, though his attitude derives from a different perspective. Mungra's orientation is decidedly

modern, Western, middle-class, and not Christian. For him, religion apparently figures mainly as a part of culture. His characterization of popular beliefs and practices as "traditional forms of social welfare" shows his affinity with attitudes that crop up with great frequency in the writings of those who have adopted a modern, emancipatory stance in the study of ethnic groups in the Netherlands.

Ethnic solidarity may have prompted Mungra to set aside the doubts he entertains. As a middle-class intellectual, he is ambivalent about "traditional social case-work." By labeling faith healing as such, he has granted respectability to a variety of rather ill-defined practices. However, he has expressed doubts as to the results of these activities. His position, and that of other native students, is obviously not an easy one. As has become clear from orthodox reactions to Deonarayan's publication, forces of social control, reinforced by the apparatus of the neo-colonial state, can be very strong. Mungra's work is clearly different in character; no negative judgment on Hinduism is voiced. Yet, an open discussion of all aspects of Hinduism is avoided, presumably because this might be unwelcome within the bosom of the Hindustani group.

This is one of the cases where social science research is lagging behind common-sense knowledge. Among migrants it is well known that Hindustani occasionally turn to Creole healers, and that contact with Hindustani has had an impact on Creole beliefs. It could hardly have been otherwise, after almost a century of co-residence in one country. These topics are discussed, or rather, touched upon, in neighborhood centers and in books written for a general public (see, for example, Stephen 1983, 1986; Lalmohamed 1992). The academic study of these meeting and mixing processes, both in Suriname and among the country's migrants, are still in a state of infancy.

REFERENCES

- DE KLERK, C.J.M., 1951. *Cultus en ritueel van het orthodoxe Hindoeïsme in Suriname*. Amsterdam: Urbi et Orbi.
- LALMOHAMED, BEA, 1992. *Hindostaanse vrouwen. De geschiedenis van zes generaties*. Utrecht: Jan van Arkel.
- STEPHEN, HENRI J.M., 1983. *Afro-Surinaamse religie en magische rituelen in Nederland*. Amsterdam: Karnak.
- , 1986. *De macht van de Fodoe Winti: Fodoe rituelen in de Winti cultus in Suriname en in Nederland*. Amsterdam: Karnak.

Politieke geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Antillen en Aruba 1950-1993.
ALEX REINDERS. Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1993. 430 pp. (Paper NLG 39.50)

J.M.R. SCHRILS
Foundation Forsa Zuid-Holland
Martinus Nijhofflaan 2
2624 ES Delft, the Netherlands

The writing of a good introduction to the political history of a country is no sinecure. One can expect the writer to be an expert on the subject and, on the basis of knowledge and insights, to write a controlled, objective, well-balanced, and informative overview of what has happened. With this information readers can increase their knowledge and possibly even pick out a subject in which to specialize. Alas, Alex Reinders did not meet these expectations.

Starting with the Netherlands Antilles Government Council led by Moisés Da Costa Gómez in 1952 and ending with the Cabinet of Maria Liberia-Peters in 1993, Reinders describes in a chronological fashion one cabinet per chapter. Each of these chapters treats more or less the same themes: first an introduction, then the elections of the *Staten* (the legislative chamber), the cabinet formation, the work of the cabinet, the interaction between cabinet and *Staten*, the development of the statecraft, the end of the cabinet, and a conclusion. As Aruba has a *status aparte* in the Kingdom of the Netherlands, this island is given special attention after the above-mentioned chapters, starting in 1986.

The themes are intrinsically relevant, often contain much useful information, and allow for comparisons. But it is regrettable that Reinders did not use his system in a more consistent manner. Some themes were left out in certain chapters; some cabinets received more attention than others; certain topics were not elaborated and some important events and developments were left out. An index at the end of this book would have made the information more accessible.

The sections dealing with developments of statecraft are nicely laid out. Reinders used his legal expertise and listened well to his advisors. The ninety-five pages concerning this topic give an overview and analysis of the most important events. Relevant papers and studies are amply cited and discussed.

However, this work contains many incomprehensible omissions and errors. To be sure, every book contains typographical errors. But in this book names are incorrectly spelled, wrong dates are given, and even whole sentences disappear (e.g., p. 259). I often caught Reinders being sloppy with

his facts and figures. He asserts, for example, that the POB and the PDB were the most important political parties on Bonaire (p. 393). But instead of the POB, he surely meant the UPB. On page 82 Reinders calls the Frente Obrero the big winner of the elections of 1969. How so? Even using his own given information, this party got 12,338 votes, and the Democratic Party got 24,105. The Frente Obrero never became a real power broker; what the party did was to influence the political choices of other parties in a populist manner. As a specialist, I notice these kinds of mistakes and misinterpretations, but can an average reader of an introduction do the same?

You can expect a writer of a political history book to meet the standards of historical science; Reinders surely does not. He uses no notes and only now and then refers to sources. Many of his judgments are completely unverifiable and miss background information or a profound analysis. His quotations from the works of experts do not compensate for this lack of accountability. And Reinders is neither objective nor distanced when he describes politicians and their place in history or in his choice of pictures (some thirty pages). The deeds of some politicians are exaggerated, while other politicians get too little attention.

In many small ways the reader is reminded that Reinders has insufficient knowledge of Antillean and Aruban history, and that he is ill-equipped to put the events in a broader setting. Important topics such as societal and economic developments, political culture, or Dutch development aid receive almost no attention in his introduction. Readers will find many questions unanswered.

Reinders should have limited himself to writing about developments of the statecraft of the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba. Although the other themes also contain useful information, as a whole they lack the touch of the master. Students should approach this book carefully and attempt to close their eyes to its many errors.

Stemmen OK, maar op wie? G.J. CIJNTJE, A. NICATIA & F. QUIRINDONGO.
Delft: Eburon, 1991. 150 pp. (Paper NLG 37.25)

GERT OOSTINDIE
KITLV/Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology
P.O. Box 9515
2300 RA Leiden, the Netherlands

Had this book been received by the *NWIG* earlier, a review would have been published one or two years ago. It would probably have summarized the book's contents and concluded with the observation that *Stemmen OK, maar op wie?* greatly enhanced our understanding of voting patterns in Curaçao. But because this book reached the journal late and this review is being written in March 1994, another and more ambivalent reading imposes itself.

First the summary. Despite its title ("Voting OK, But For Whom?"), this book offers no guidance as to the best party to vote for. Rather, it offers a detailed analysis of voting and non-voting patterns on Curaçao, the largest island of the Netherlands Antilles. The first three chapters provide a useful introduction to the book itself, the conceptual model applied, and the political history of Curaçao and the Netherlands Antilles at large. Chapters 4-7 discuss the procedure and results of two parallel research projects. The first is a longitudinal analysis of voting patterns in all six elections for the Netherlands Antilles' *Staten* (parliament) and the Curaçao *Eilandsraad* (island council) from 1979 to 1987, the second a detailed survey of voters and non-voters in the 1987 elections.

Voting patterns in Curaçao – with just over 150,000 inhabitants, of whom some 100,000 are entitled to vote – may well appear to be of strictly local interest. Even so, *Stemmen OK* manages to provide an instructive analysis. The island is divided into forty zones, each of which is charted for demographic, socio-economic, and cultural criteria. The result of this analysis is rewarding in itself, as the authors thus provide us with a sociographic blueprint of the island. Their next step is to identify voting patterns by district, and particularly in the strongholds of the main political parties. A useful exercise indeed.

Chapter 8 compares the electoral profile by district assessed for the 1979-87 period with the outcome of the 1990 elections. With due reservations, the authors suggest that the observed changes do not reflect major departures in the political orientation by districts and social groups. Chapter 9, finally, provides further non-voter profiles and deflates official figures for abstention from the official 34 percent (1987) to 26 percent, while at the same time confirming the rising proportion of non-voters.

The major point of criticism that might have been raised against this study a year ago would perhaps have been somewhat oblique: the figures and analysis remain descriptive, and there is no discussion of how the various districts – even where neither their constituencies nor the various political parties seem to differ all that much – become and remain loyal to a specific party, or strongly opposed to another. Is it *clientelismo*, or something else?

This comment must assume more urgency today. On Curaçao, the March 1994 elections for a new *Staten* produced a massive victory for a completely new political party, *Pro Antia Restructura* (PAR). The context (widespread discontent with what was perceived as insularism, incompetence, and/or corruption of the traditional political parties) was not entirely new, as the authors demonstrate with regard to the 1969 and 1979 elections. The scale of the electoral landslide was, however. PAR won eight out of the fourteen Curaçao seats in the *Staten*. The major consistent result was the continuing ascendancy of non-voters.

This reviewer would be delighted to read a sequel to *Stemmen OK* that attempted to come to terms with these baffling electoral results. Unless it could be shown that the party strongholds identified for the 1979-87 period remained faithful to their favorites in the 1994 elections, which is unlikely, I propose the following: insofar as these were significant, the pre-1994 contrasts in voting patterns by district were in the end not primarily of an economic, demographic, or socio-cultural nature, but rather connected to tradition and machine politics. As that system collapsed, most districts voted alike; there was no political rationale *strictu sensu* to opt for one traditional party rather than another. The next question, of course, is: why precisely now the (temporary?) collapse of the old order? Again, one looks forward to a study directly addressing this enigma.

Predication in Caribbean English Creoles. DONALD WINFORD. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1993, viii + 419 pp. (Cloth NLG 145.00)

GENEVIEVE ESCURE
Department of English
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis MN 55455, U.S.A.

This comprehensive overview of predication in Guyanese Creole (GC) and Jamaican Creole (JC) will be of interest to creolists and generally to linguists, as well as to other Caribbean scholars. Donald Winford includes in

his study chapters on tense/modality/aspect (TMA) categories (Chapter 2), auxiliaries (Chapter 3), voice (Chapter 4), copularity and attribution (Chapter 5), serialization (Chapter 6), and complementation (Chapter 7). In each of these areas of syntax, the author provides insightful and often innovative assessments of all grammatical phenomena with special attention to their semantic subcategorization.

The chapters on copularity/attribution and serialization are particularly comprehensive and well-argued. Chapter 5 convincingly demonstrates that the traditional stative/processual distinction is not sufficient to account for predication in GC and JC, and that in fact those creoles subcategorize the class of attributive predicators in terms of several semantic types, such as physical property, dimension, color, and others. For example, some semantic types of adjectives are compatible with the progressive aspect marker and others are not... This type of analysis contributes to a better understanding of the complexity of creole languages. Chapter 6 draws an interesting comparison between paratactic and serialized structures, and shows that they cannot be neatly separated, contrary to what has been claimed. However, Winford still maintains that there must be a difference, a claim not truly justified by the data and in fact even more difficult to maintain when incorporating contextual and pragmatic factors.

The contextual and pragmatic factors that are inherent in natural discourse are in fact only occasionally referred to in this book, and this omission may undermine some of Winford's discussions. It is perhaps unfair to fault him for not incorporating *more* into the very broad and difficult topic of predication, which in fact covers most of the essential components of sentence structure. Every linguist (and especially one doing creolistics) is faced with a tough choice – either to define a representative sample of an overwhelmingly large corpus of lects whose richness may obscure patterns, or to limit that corpus arbitrarily and risk a biased interpretation.

Winford has picked the second option, and attempted to limit the scope of his study by restricting his observations to (1) basilectal/conservative varieties of Caribbean English (in particular GC and JC), and (2) sentences individually elicited and evaluated by consultants outside natural contexts.

The introductory chapter presents the traditional division between eastern and western Caribbean creoles (p. 4), yet Winford's endorsement of this division does not seem justified in view of statements such as: "the general distinction I have made between Eastern and Western varieties will be retained, though it must be remembered that the similarities between them far outweigh the differences" (p. 5) and "attempts to draw clear boundaries between the two groups are in fact seriously hampered by the lack of analyses of all levels of linguistic structure" (p. 5). Furthermore, Winford eventu-

ally demonstrates the similarities between GC (eastern) and JC (western) verb systems. Another puzzling detail is the use of the label Caribbean English Creole in the title of the book and throughout the text, even though the discussion focuses on two specific varieties, with only occasional reference to other varieties.

Another problem arises from Winford's very intent to limit his analysis to basilects. He explicitly refers to the difficulty of drawing boundaries because of the "lack of analyses of all levels of linguistic structure" (see quotation above). Yet he elects to focus solely on basilectal varieties although he recognizes the existence of a continuum, the overlap between creole and English, and the difficulty of separating basilectal from mesolectal varieties, for which he does not provide a new perspective. Why then persist in believing in a geographical distribution of conservative varieties (e.g., Guyana and Belize) vs. intermediate ones (e.g., Barbados and Bahamas)? This unsupported claim contributes to the myth of homogeneity within creole societies, a myth which has been amply debunked by John Rickford (quoted on p. 10) and many others, myself included. (For example, there is such a wide range of individual variation in Belize, that Belizean can only be called "conservative" if it is defined as *including* conservative varieties beside many others, mesolectal as well as acrolectal. However, when convenient, Winford refers to mesolects (for example on p. 189), because GC mesolects confirm a distinction postulated for basilectal GC between physical property items and others.

This problem is compounded by the fact that Winford elects to use as his data base already existing data on GC and JC (even though he claims that they are limited in their scope (see above), and when he adds his own consultants, he appears satisfied with data produced by recent immigrants to the United States and by elicitation and sentence acceptance methods which, at his own admission (pp. 186, 190), often lead to contradictory responses, and thus are not truly reliable. Surely, this is not the best way to gather "all levels of linguistic structure." Ironically, his decision to use as data "sentences in isolation" (p. 30) comes after a convincing argument on the relevance of discourse factors in elucidating the meanings of TMA markers.

In spite of occasional comments on the changing nature of creole grammar ("basilectal GC grammar is in a state of flux" [p. 41]), the general picture provided in this book is somewhat static, which is the price to pay for limiting an essentially dynamic creole situation. The concluding chapter provides a well-informed, but belated and abbreviated discussion of the possible effects of decreolization and second-language acquisition on linguistic change in the continuum. Winford raises the interesting issues of the

conflicting – or cooperative – influences of substrate and universal factors on creole continua, an intriguing area of investigation which is still far from being solved. Yet he has contributed useful knowledge about the semantic properties of predication toward a better interpretation of the complex linguistic behavior of Creole speakers.

Trinidad and Tobago. LISE WINER. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1993. xi + 369 pp. (plus cassette) (Cloth US\$ 75.00, Cassette US\$ 27.00)

JEAN D'COSTA
Department of English
Hamilton College
Clinton NY 13323, U.S.A.

Lisa Winer's *Trinidad and Tobago* adds new breadth and depth to the study of Caribbean creoles and to creole linguistics. The latest in *Varieties of English World-Wide*, this publication provides written and oral texts to illuminate the many levels of language usage in Trinidad and Tobago. Book and cassette work together to give a valuable tool to linguists, to students of creole languages, to educational planners, and to the interested lay public. Winer's work adds much to the debate as to the history and status of Trinidadian and Tobagonian speech forms, and to their probable relationship with the language varieties of Guyana, Jamaica, and Barbados. It also raises important considerations as to the nature of the much-debated creole continuum and to the question of what constitutes decreolization. Most importantly, it fills a long-standing need by addressing one of the major speech communities of the Eastern Caribbean.

The book opens with a 73-page discussion of the linguistic structures used in these two islands between the eighteenth century and today. Winer sets out the historical, sociolinguistic, and formal distinctions between Trinidad and Tobago English (a metropolitan form of English) and the related creoles of Tobago and Trinidad respectively. Their relationship to Standard International English and to Caribbean English Creole and, what is most fascinating, their relationship over time to French Creole, Spanish, and Hindi-Bhojpuri are made clear. The book's Introduction offers a wealth of phonological, morpho-syntactic, diachronic, and socio-linguistic information in a clear, succinct, and well organized opening chapter. The structure of the Introduction enables both the theoretical linguist and the high school teacher to gain what they need from the accompanying data.

In Section 2, "Written Texts," thirty-four extracts appear in chronological order, the earliest dated 1827 and the latest 1989. Explanatory head notes comment on the origin and background of each text and also point to features of particular linguistic interest. Glosses for unusual items appear at the end of each extract, as well as translations for a few of the early and more difficult texts. Averaging about one to two pages, the texts include several genres: comic "dialect writing for newspapers" (Texts 1 and 2); regular items composed in the vernacular (Texts 3, 5, 8, 14); letters to the editor (Text 6a-6d); and extracts from the fiction of Naipaul, Selvon, Hodge, and others, including an anonymous novel serialized in 1853 and "probably written by a mulatto Trinidadian, like J.B. Philippe, the author of *A Free Mulatto*" (p. 87, headnote). Of these texts, five represent nineteenth-century usage, and four represent usage up to World War II (a turning point for language in Trinidad and, to a lesser extent, in Tobago). There are no samples of usage between 1940 and 1950. The decade of the 1960s is illustrated by Texts 14 to 17, the 1970s by Texts 18 to 26, and the 1980s by Texts 27 to 34.

The succeeding sections present extracts from advertisements (Section 3); from cartoons (Section 4); and from proverbs (Section 5). Section 6, "Song Lyrics," follows a more complicated format in that it begins with twelve songs from the Herskovits Song Collection made in 1939 (one wishes that the audio-cassette had included these recordings too), together with calypsos and songs which use French Creole and Spanish. This section even covers "Speech Style Traditions" (pp. 274-88), giving readers examples of the ritualized boasts which accompany *kalinda* (stick-fighting), and ending with a sampling of carnival lyrics, one from 1939 and the other from 1974.

Section 7, "Oral Interviews" (on cassette), offers seven interviews presented both in standardized English spelling and in "a phonemic/broad IPA transcription" (p. 291), and laid out conveniently in two parallel columns on the page. All have introductory head notes and are followed by glosses. The accompanying audio-cassette (approximately forty-five minutes long) is of good quality and would play well in a lecture room. By bringing together interviews made by herself and others (such as Warner-Lewis's work on Yoruba survivals), Winer provides rich and diverse oral evidence to illustrate this complex language heritage. The book ends with Section 8, "Bibliography," which is divided into four parts so that readers unfamiliar with the subject can find references under headings such as "Language" and "Culture, History and Society." This is a book to use both in the university lecture room and in schools. Winer must be commended for making a complicated subject accessible to such a varied audience.